

ATTIC EPITAPHS - A SUPPLEMENT

«Griechische Grabinschriften sind freilich keine Runen: harmloser und minder gefährlich, sind sie auch uninteressanter und ihr Verlust — wenn es denn sein muss — für die Wissenschaft leichter zu verschmerzen». Thus Richard Schoell in 1873, seeking to minimize the significance of his damnation of numerous Attic, sepulchral inscriptions published by Franciscus Lenormant as likely forgeries¹. One hundred and fifteen years later, however, these seemingly unprepossessing monuments, even if they have not quite acquired the status of Runes, have certainly come to be recognized as highly significant documents, especially for prosopographical and demographic studies. This is particularly so for Attica where tomb inscriptions are the most ubiquitous and certainly the most numerous stone documents to survive from antiquity². But the exploitation of this abundant source of information is rendered difficult on the one hand by the lack of an up to date collection of the published materials and on the other hand by the existence of a more than usually large body of unpublished materials.

It is, of course, true that many categories of Athenian inscriptions lack an up to date *corpus*, but the problem is unusually acute in the case of epitaphs both because of the frequency of their discovery³ and because of the fact that many are published initially (and sometimes for the only time) in a most cursory manner⁴. In the *Editio Minor* of the Attic

¹ R. SCHOELL, *Hermes* 7 (1873), p.240, discussing the supposed discoveries of F. LENORMANT, *RhM* 21 (1866), p.233ff., 362ff., 510ff.

² A major study of Athenian tombstones is currently in progress at the University of Copenhagen under the direction of Professor Mogens HANSEN.

³ As can be seen most clearly from the report sections of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (B), the annual harvest of epitaphs from Athens is substantial. No other category of Attic (stone) inscription is so regularly augmented.

⁴ A basic problem is that many of the texts are first published in reports of rescue excavations. Such reports tend to be at best laconic, at worst uninformative. A different, but related, problem is that some secondary reports of epitaphs can be (unintentionally) misleading. Thus, for instance, in *BCH* 79 (1955), p.216 the discovery in a house in Ano Petralona of an epitaph for Μένανδρος | Φιλα[ίδ]ης was reported. Over sixteen years later the monument in question was published in *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p.35, with the text Μένανδρος | Φιλωνίδου | Φιλα[ίδ]ης (= No. 86 below). In the case of two other epitaphs from the same house reported in the same entry in *BCH* the texts are shown to be complete by the subsequent publication in *AE* (cf. Nos. 34 and 77 below). For a similar case cf. No. 8 below.

Corpus, published in 1940 (and popularly referred to as *IG II*²) Kirchner printed more than 8000 private epitaphs, to which were added some 260 more in three supplements, which appeared between 1942 and 1957⁵, and a further 310 in the *Corpus* of the funeral monuments from the Athenian Agora⁶. But in the years since 1940 the haul of tomb inscriptions from Athens and Attica has been prodigious, and not all have found their way into these supplements or (as might have been expected) into the volumes of *SEG*. Since 1976, of course, *SEG Redivivus* has brought welcome security, but the preceding years remain treacherous. The hiatus between the death of the original *SEG* (in 1969) and the birth of the new (in 1976) presents an obvious difficulty, but the problem is more pervasive in reality due to the failure of the postwar volumes of the original *SEG* to maintain comprehensive coverage of new discoveries⁷. In an effort to repair this deficiency the new *SEG* has from time to time printed texts from the years prior to 1976, but this expedient is somewhat capricious in practice⁸ and obviously is destined to be of a relatively long term nature. In such circumstances the need for a systematic collection of the *disiecta membra* remains, and the aim of this paper is to provide this by gathering together in one place the texts published prior to 1976 which have failed to appear either in the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* and its supplements (as listed above) or in *SEG*⁹. In the interests of completeness the desiderata have been taken to embrace also a number of texts which figured in the *Editio Maior* of the *Corpus* but which were (deliberately) omitted from the *Editio Minor* by Kirchner. The exclusion of these latter, which Dittenberger had termed

⁵ W. PEEK, *AM* 67 (1942), p. 77-217; G.A. STAMIREs, *AM* 67 (1942), p. 218-229; W. PEEK, *Attische Grabschriften*, II (*ADAW*, Jahrgang 1956.3), Berlin 1957. All three have been re-published in *Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum* I, Chicago 1976.

⁶ D.W. BRADEEN, *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments (The Athenian Agora, XVII)*, Princeton 1974.

⁷ Thus, for instance, the texts from the report sections of *AD* 16 (1960), 17 (1961), and 18 (1962) appear not to have found their way into *SEG* at all. Perhaps more perniciously, *SEG* XXIII (1968) does include 4 texts from *AD* 19 (1964) but omits no less than 10 for no obvious reason. Coverage of reports from *AD* 20 (1965) is undertaken in *SEG* XXIV and from *AD* 21 (1966) and *AD* 22 (1967) in *SEG* XXV, but in neither case is it fully comprehensive.

⁸ Thus *SEG* XXXII, for example, contains 45 texts from the period 1968/70 including all of the sepulchral material from *AD* 23 (1968) B. But, confusingly, *SEG* XXX contains only a selection of the sepulchral texts published by S. KOUMANOUDES in *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 69ff.

⁹ It is assumed that all texts published in and after 1976 figure (or certainly will figure) in *SEG Redivivus*.

*fragmenta minuta*¹⁰, was explained by Kirchner thus — *haec quidem typis expressae nullum usum habent, in museis asservata ad membra disiecta copulanda eximii sunt momenti*. In general terms this is undoubtedly true, and in the *Agora Corpus* Bradeen catalogued many hundreds of tiny fragments which were too exiguously preserved to warrant publication¹¹. It should be noted, however, that Kirchner's exclusion embraced numerous fragments which would certainly be deemed worthy of publication on currently accepted criteria, and, given that his *damnatio* is otherwise likely to consign these to permanent oblivion, it has seemed appropriate to rehabilitate here those which have some reasonable portion of text preserved¹².

Before embarking upon this modest supplement to the existing repertoria it is perhaps worthwhile to emphasize — what may be of significance for demographic studies — that considerable numbers of tomb inscriptions remain unpublished and that even larger numbers of fragments are too slightly preserved to merit publication. In this latter respect it is salutary to remember that Bradeen refrained from publishing some 900 fragmentary monuments from the *Agora*, and, given that the bulk, if not all, of these were discovered prior to 1939 and that his study was of very restricted geographical dimensions, this surely represents only the tip of a mighty iceberg. What is more pernicious, however, is the uncertainty over the fate of numerous well preserved epitaphs which have come to light but which remain unpublished (sometimes after many years). The most obvious problem lies in the sphere of rescue excavations within the city of Athens where hard-pressed archaeologists frequently (and intelligibly) report the discovery of epitaphs with considerable economy of description, occasionally to

¹⁰ *IG* III (2) 3642-3821.

¹¹ D. W. BRADEEN, *op. cit.*, p. I n. 1; p. 195ff.

¹² All of the fragments from *IG* III (2) in which a recognizable part of a name, demotic or ethnic is visible have been included below. The following 93 texts, in which only a single letter or a few letters of uncertain purport are preserved, have been excluded: *IG* III (2) 3642-3644; 3646-3648; 3651; 3653; 3654; 3657; 3658; 3660; 3661-3663; 3668; 3670; 3671; 3684; 3685; 3691-3693; 3695-3700; 3705; 3706; 3708; 3711-3718; 3721-3723; 3726; 3729; 3733-3737; 3741; 3744-3747; 3749; 3753; 3759; 3760; 3763; 3766; 3767; 3769; 3772-3776; 3779; 3782; 3787; 3790-3793; 3796; 3800-3802; 3806; 3808; 3810-3821. Also excluded, as by KIRCHNER, are Christian epitaphs and the suspect *Lenormantiana* (*IG* III (2) 3548-3641, for which cf. R. SCHOELL, *loc. cit.*, and W. DITTENBERGER, *IG* III (2) p. 254). On the credit side a handful of *inedita* of uncertain provenance are included and a few fragmentary epitaphs from *IG* II (5) and some *incerta* from *IG* III (2) are rescued from Kirchnerian proscription.

the extent of omitting to record the texts at all. Thus, for example, in *AE* (1973) *Chron.*, p. 55 only one of two reported texts is printed, and, rather more alarmingly, in *AD* 19 (1964) *B Chron.*, p. 60 the discovery of no less than nine inscribed, funeral monuments is noted without any details of the texts. Given the unrelenting nature of rescue excavations in Athens and environs¹³ and the understandable backlog of reports¹⁴, the prospects for the early publication of these and other such titles must remain unpromising. It is difficult to estimate the dimensions of the problem of the missing evidence with any degree of accuracy, but it is not confined to the sphere of rescue operations¹⁵, and the likelihood must be that the volume of the unpublished evidence is very considerable.

The supplement which follows will undoubtedly be lacunose in some degree, as is almost inevitable when the texts have appeared in such a wide variety of places, but it is hoped that it will repair the most obvious deficiencies in systematic coverage prior to 1976, when *SEG Redivivus* became available as a comprehensive guide to new discoveries¹⁶.

¹³ In Athens, Peiraeus and Eleusis alone (for instance) 66 investigations were reportedly undertaken in 1973, and a further 64 in 1974. Cf. *AD* 29 (1974) *B, Chron.* p. 82f. and 112f.

¹⁴ The gap between year of report and year of publication for *AD* has increased in the course of the 1970s from two years to upwards of eight years.

¹⁵ The present author is aware of more than one hundred unpublished, Attic epitaphs, all discovered well over twenty years ago (and most of them even longer ago than that). Some are from sites (as opposed to being the products of rescue activity) and some have, by funerary standards at any rate, substantial texts. It is perhaps an open question whether the (justifiable) strictures recently made by Christian HABICHT concerning 'pirate' versions of substantial documents (for which cf. *AJPh* 108, 1987, p. 699ff. and *Gnomon* 59, p. 670ff.) should apply in the case of such protracted delays in the publication of these modest monuments.

¹⁶ Accordingly it does not contain texts published in or after 1976 (cf. n. 9 above). Nor does it include epitaphs which appear either in *IG* II² and its 'supplements' (as listed in notes 5 and 6 above) or in the original *SEG*. Rather it is specifically intended to act as a supplement to these works with the objective of making available a reasonably comprehensive 'corpus' of the pre-1976 sepulchral materials.

Many of the texts below were published originally without chronological indications, but, where feasible, some attempt at dating has been made. The designation 'unclear' signifies that no appropriate data for a decision were provided by the original editor. Dotted letters given by the original editors have been retained without comment where no basis is available for verification. Otherwise numerous minor changes to texts have been effected. Finally, to avoid inflating the numbers of persons with demotics or ethnics by the inclusion of doubtful cases, titles where the first few letters of a word only are preserved in three distinct lines, with the result that it is unclear whether the third entry is the beginning of a name or of a demotic or ethnic, have been included in the category of persons without demotic or ethnic. It should thus be borne in mind that the third entry in these cases may not be a name. The titles in question are: Nos. 209, 216, 218, 225, 264, 276, 282, 293, 304, 326.

I. ATHENIANS WITH DEMOTICS

1. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Peiraieus. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Βουλόστρατος | Δωροθέου | Ἀγρυλῆθεν.

2. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.*, p. 68 (with plate 60 γ). Athens (at the intersection of Kokkini, Perrhaibou, and Diamantopoulou streets). The upper part of a *stèle* with *anthemion* and a *loutrophoros* cut on the main surface. The first line is inscribed on the *fascia* of the moulding, the remainder on the main surface above the *loutrophoros*. Date: middle, IV B.C.

Λῦσις Ἀσωπίου Ἀγρυλῆθεν | Ἀσώπιος | Λυσίππο | Ἀγρυλῆθεν.

3. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 33 no. 28. Athens (found in a house in Papadiamantopoulou street in 1943). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

Ἀγαθίων | Νέωνος | Ἀθμονεύς.

4. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 70. Nea Sphageia. *Kioniskos*. Date: II B.C.

Σωκλεία | Ἡρακλεοδώρου | θυγάτηρ | Τιμοκλέους | Ἀθμονέως
| γυνή.

5. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 45. Porto Raphti. *Stèle*. Date: second half, IV B.C.

[X]αριάδης | [X]αιρεφάνους | [A]θμονεύς. | *duae rosae* |
[T]εισικράτεια | [A]λκιμάχου | Ἀγγελῆθεν. | [X]αιρεφάνης |
[X]αριάδου | Ἀθμονεύς. | Χαιρέστρατος | Χαριάδου | Ἀθμο-
νεύς.

6. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 19 (with plate 28 α); cf. *BCH* 95 (1971), p. 810 (with fig. 8). Athens (to the west of the *Odeion* of Herodes Atticus). Fragment of a *stèle*. Date: II-I B.C.

Δημοφίλη | Ἐπιλύκου | [Aῖ]γιλίως | [θυ]γάτηρ.

7. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 90 (1975), p. 461. Kerameikos. *Kioniskos*. Date: middle, I B.C.

Ἰθάκη Βακχίου Αἰ<ξ>ωνέως γυνή.

Lap. Αἰζωνέως.

The following abbreviations have been employed in addition to those currently in use in *SEG*:

KOUMANOUDES = S. A. KOUMANOUDES, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι, Athens 1871.

CONZE = A. CONZE, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin 1893-1922.

Mélanges Daux = *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux*, Paris 1974.

J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* = J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique*, in *REG* (1938 onwards).

8. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.69f. no. 1; cf. *BCH* 79 (1955), p.220. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III B.C.

Φιλίστα | Ἀθηνοδώρου | Αἰξωνέως | θυγάτηρ.

The report in *BCH* gives the first name as Φιλίς.

9. *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p.36. Athens (found in Basilikon street and taken subsequently to the Kerameikos). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Θεόφιλος | Θεοφίλου | Ἀλαιεύς.

10. *Archeologia Classica* 25/26 (1973/4), p.529ff. (with plates 91-96). Pikermi (now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13189). Tall *stèle* surmounted by a Corinthian helmet and with carved shield and *loutrophoros* on the main surface. Date: ca. 375-360 B.C.

(helmet) Ἰέρων | Ἱεροκλ<έ>ος | Ἀλ<α>ιεύς | *duae rosae* |
Ἱεροκλῆς | (shield) *loutrophoros*.

The inscribed text of lines 2-3 reads Ἱεροκλος | Ἀλιεύς.

11. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p.60. Athens (at the corner of Plataion and Paramythias streets). *Stèle*. Date: unclear.

Μόσχιον | Φαλάνθου | Ἀλαιέως | θυγάτηρ.

(The editor also mentions nine *kioniskoi* and two *loutrophoroi*, but gives no details).

12. *AD* 18 (1963), B, *Chron.* p.45; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p.700 no. 2. Athens (Pangkrati). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἑρμογέ|νης Τελεσ|ίου Ἀλιμού|σιος.

13. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.70 no. 2. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Stèle*. Date: IV B.C.

[- - - - -] Ἀναφλυστίο.

14. *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p.35. Athens (found at the corner of Leonidou street and Hieras Hodou and taken subsequently to the Kerameikos). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Πάμφιλος {ς} | Πολυξένου | Ἀπολλωνιεύς.

15. *AE* 1973, *Chron.* p.73. Athens (Peiraieus street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Σώσιππος | Σωσιστράτου | Ἀτηνεύς.

16. *AD* 16 (1960) B, *Chron.* p. 69 (with plate 53 γ); cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1964, p. 157 no. 152. Athens (Daphni monastery). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος | Ἀρτεμιδῶρου | Ἀφιδναῖος.

17. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 29 no. 7 (with plate 15 c). Kephisia. *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

[Α]πολλώνιος | [Α]πολλωνίου | Ἀχαρνεύς.

18. *IG* III 3913 = A. BOECKH, *CIG* I 603. Athens (exact provenance unclear - *ex schedis D. St. Martin; inter sertā frondea iuxta posita* (BOECKH)). Date: Roman period.

Αὔλιος	Αὔλιος
Πωλλί<ω>νος	Πωλλί<ω>νος
Ἀχαρνεύς	Ἀχαρνεύς.

The second line is inscribed Πωλλίονος on both occasions. According to BOECKH this text *non sepulchrale videtur*, but no grounds are advanced for this assertion.

19. *Polemon* 4 (1949/50), *Symm.* λγ' no. 1 (with plates 1-2). Athens (found in a garden in Patision street near to Koliatsou square). *Stele* with *anthemion* and relief panel. Date: late IV B.C.

Δημαίνετος Ἀχαρνεύ[ς]. | Δημήτριος Ἐπαινέτου | Ἀχαρνεύς. |
Ἐπαινέτος Δημαίνετου Ἀχα(ρνεύς). | *Relief* | Εἰς τράτη
Πείθω[νος] | Φυλασίου.

20. *Hesperia* 16 (1947), p. 265 no. 21. Athens (near to the Roman Agora; taken subsequently to the Epigraphical Museum (= EM 13055)). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

[Κ]λέϊππος | Ἀλεξάρχου | Ἀχαρνεύς.

21. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 33 no. 30. Athens (found in a house in Ergotimou street; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13113). *Kioniskos*. Date: III B.C.

Νίκανδρος | Κράτωνος | Ἀχαρνεύς.

22. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 80 no. 17 (with plate on p. 140). Athens (found in a house in Siphnou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: ca. middle II B.C.

Ἀβρων | Καλλίου | Βατῆθεν.

For the family cf. *APF* 7856.

23. *AD* 21 (1966) B, *Chron.* p. 64 (with plate 77 α); cf. *BCH* 94 (1970), p. 892 (with fig. 16). Athens (Leophoros Mesogeion). *Loutrophoros*. Date: IV B.C.

Ἰεροκλῆς Ἰέρωνος Γαργήτιος. | Ἰέρων Ἰεροκλέους Γαργήτιος.

No text is provided by the *AD* editor.

24. *PAAH* 1963, p. 7f. (with plates 4β and 5β) = *ERGON* 1963, p. 6f. (with plate 5); cf. *BCH* 88 (1964), p. 682 (with fig. 5). Athens (from the excavations of the Ancient Academy). Five fragments of a sculptured relief *stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Ἰππύλ[λος] | Ἰάσον[ος] | Εἰρεσίδ[ης]. | Λυσίπιδ[ης] | Ἰάσο-
νος | Εἰρεσίδ[ης].

25. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 32. Athens (at the intersection of Aioulou and Pandrosou streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀθηναίς | Τιμοφάνου | Ἐλευσινίου | θυγάτηρ.

The majuscule copy in *AD* gives line 1 as ΑΘΗΝΑΙ[.]ΙΣ.

26. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 70. Nea Sphageia. *Kioniskos*. Date: III B.C.

Καλλίπη | Φιλιστίδου | Ἐλευσινίου | θυγάτηρ | Δαμεδόντος |
γυνή.

27. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 71 no. 5. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: IV-III B.C.

Κλεόφαντος | Ἀγησιστράτου | Ἐπικηφίσιος.

28. *IG* III 3917. Athens (*Asklepieion*). Marble fragment. Date: Roman period.

[---]ς Ἐρικε[εύς] | [---]οκτητ[---] | [---]ιονδ[---].

This text was included with the *fragmenta incerta* by DITTENBERGER.

29. *AD* 26 (1971) B, *Chron.* p. 37. Moschaton. *Mensa*. Date: second half, IV B.C.

Καλλίστρατος Πολυκλείδου Ἐρχιεύς.

30. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 29. Athens (Omiron street). *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Φίλη Κα<λλ>ιστράτου | Ἐρχιέως.

The majuscule copy gives line 1 as ΦΙΛΗΚΑΜΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

31. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 440f. no. 84 (with plate 107). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis). Pedimental *stele*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

[---]ια Σωσ[---] | [ἐξ Ε]ὑρυιδ[ών].

32. *Polemon* 3 (1947/8), p. 147ff. no. 2 (with plate 2). Koropi. *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

[..⁴..]ὼ Ἀρεσίου Θορ[---]. | *duae rosae* | Φιλοκῆδης Ἀμοι-
βί[χου]. | Ἀρεσίας Φιλοκῆδο[υς]. | Ἀμοίβιχος Γοργύθο[υ]. |

Τιμαρέτη Οικότελος. | *vacat* | Ἀμοίβιχος Φιλοκῆδους. | Διο-
 πείθης Ἀμοιβίχου. | *vacat* | Φιλοκῆδη[ς] | Ἀμοιβίχ[ου] |
 Λα[μπ]ρεύς].

KOTZIAS (ad loc.) restores the end of line 1 as Ἀρεσίου Θορ[ικία]. The rarity of a demotic for a female, especially at so early a date, would make Θορ[ικίου] preferable; but Θορ[αίως] is also possible.

KOTZIAS takes [...]⁴ῶ and Τιμαρέτη to be the wives of Ἀρεσίας (I) and Οικότελης (II) respectively, whereas they are surely the daughters. Thus in the one case [...]⁴ῶ was the wife of Φιλοκῆδης (I) Ἀμοιβίχου (I), and their son was Ἀρεσίας (II), named after his maternal grandfather. In the other case Τιμαρέτη was also married into the Amoibichos family, and, assuming that the vacant line after her entry (ignored by KOTZIAS in his text) associates her with the preceding names, she was probably the wife of Ἀμοίβιχος (III) Γοργύθο[υ]. Geisias, son of Oikoteles, who made a dedication in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*Polemon* 3, 1947/8, p. 145ff.) may then be taken as her brother, and Oikoteles, son of Geisias, who was secretary of the *epistatai* of the *Hephaisteion* in 421/0 (*IG* I³ 472.4) was her great grandfather.

The possibility that Τεισία[ς] in a list of [Λαμπ]ρεῖς of the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*IG* II² 2967.35 = *PA* 13480) should be emended to <Γ>εισία[ς] is broached by KOTZIAS. There would be no difficulty in identifying him as the brother of Timarete, but the grounds for making this emendation are hardly compelling.

The revised stemma of the families may be presented as in the diagram overleaf.

33. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 35. Athens (Aiolou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀπολλόδωρος | Θεοκλέους | Ἰφιστιάδης.

34. *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p. 35 = *BCH* 79 (1955) 216. Athens (Ano Petralona). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Καλλιστώ | Μενάνδρου | Ἰωνίδου | θυγάτηρ | Ἀπολλωνίδου |
 Περιθοίδου γυνή.

35. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Peiraieus. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Κλεώ | Κλέωνος | Κηφισιέως | θυγάτηρ | Εὐφραίου δέ | γυνή.

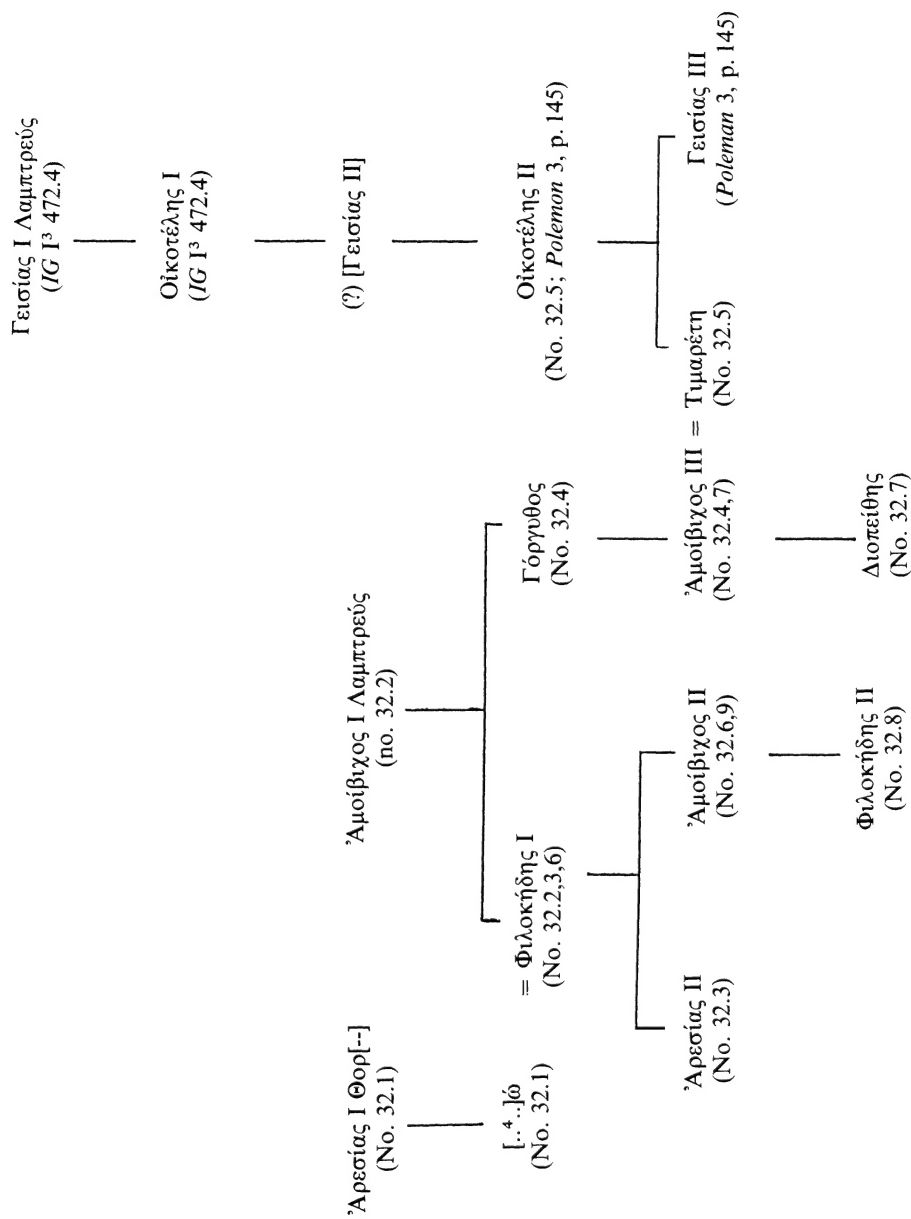
36. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 71 no. 6. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *stèle*. Date: II-III A.D.

[----- Κη]φεισι<ε>[ύς].

The *epsilon* lacks a central bar (KOUMANOUDES ad loc.).

37. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 76 no. 32, Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II A.D.

Καλλιόπη | Θεοφίλου | Κικυννέως | Μιλησία.



38. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.66 (with plate 59α); cf. *BCH* 96 (1972), p.606 (with fig. 47). Athens (Theophilopoulou street). Fragment from moulding of *naiskos*. Date: IV B.C.

[Καλ]λιστῶ : Λεύκο : θυγάτηρ : Κικυννέως.

39. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.95 (with plate 75γ); cf. *BCH* 96 (1972), p.623 (with fig. 89). Eleusis. Fragment of a *stèle* with a floral top; beneath the text a sculptured scene. Date: second half, IV B.C.

Παναγόρα Ν[α]υσιτέλου | Κονθυλῆθεν θυγάτηρ | Προμηθίδου
Ἐλευσινίου γυνή.

40. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.71 no. 7. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *stèle*. Date: III A.D.

[-----] Κορυδα[λλεύς].

41. *BCH* 86 (1962), p.652 no. 1. Report of Kerameikos excavations of 1961/2. *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Ἀριστομάχη Ἀσωποδώρου | Κυδαθηναίως.

The report gives only the first name.

42. *AD* 16 (1960) B, *Chron.* p.69 (with plate 52ε); cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1964, p.157 no. 153. Athens (Daphni monastery). Base. Date: IV B.C.

Εὔδοξος | Δημαινέτου | Κυδαθηναίως.

43. *Hesperia* 16 (1947), p.66 no. 6. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]P.[--] | [--]αντου.. | [--]θυγάτηρ Θε[--] | Κυδαθηναί[έως (?)
γυνή].

44. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1967, p.479 no. 206 = *Münzen und Medaillen Basel, Auktion 34, Kunstwerke der Antike* (6 May 1967) 196 (with plate 67). Provenance unclear. *Stèle*. Date: unclear.

[--] Νικίου Κυδαθηναί[έ<ω>ς] | [--]νος Ῥαμνουσίου γυνή.

Line 1: Κυδαθηναίως.

45. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p.36 (with plate 37γ). Athens (Lykourgou street). *Naiskos*. Date: II A.D.

Λάστρατος | Φιλωνίδου | Λάκιαδης.

46. *AD* 16 (1960), B, *Chron.* p.25; cf. *BCH* 84 (1960), p.642. Athens (corner of

Boulis and Metropoleos streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Δημο[σ]τράτη | Ἀρχίου | [Λαμ]πτρέ[ως] | θυγάτηρ.

47. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 33 no. 29. Athens (in the grounds of the *Asteroskopeion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: II B.C.

Εὐδαιμοκράτης | Εὐθυκλέους | Λανπτρεύς.

Cf. *IG* II² 6667 for a possible ancestor.

48. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 28 no. 4. Thiti, northeast of Vari. *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

duae rosae | Πάραλος | Πausανίου | Λαμπτρέύς.

49. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 71f. no. 9. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II B.C.

[--]ι[-]αγόρα[ς] | Τ[ι]μαίου | Λ[α]μπτρέύς.

KOUMANOUDES (ad loc.) restores the first name as [Αρ]ι[στ]αγόρα[ς], but there are other possibilities (e.g. [Τ]ι[μ]αγόρα[ς]).

50. *AD* (1970) A, p. 72 no. 10. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: III A.D.

[----] Λαμπτρέύς.

51. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 31 no. 25. Provenance unclear; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 5111. Fragment of a *stele*. Date: first half, IV B.C.

[Κα]λλιστὸν Ἀριστ[---] | [Λευ]κονοέως.

52. *IG* III 3860 (b). Athens (near to the *Theseion*; cf. PITTAKYS, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens 1835, p. 90). Date: (?) Roman period.

Ἀπολλώνιος [--] | Μαραθωνίου | ἱερέως δὲ Ὀρβινίου | [Αμύ]ντορος Ἀραφηνίου.

This text was included with the *fragmenta incerta* by DITTENBERGER.

53. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 70. Nea Liosia. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Διόδωρος | Ἀπολλοδώρου | Μαραθώνιος.

54. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 45; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700. Athens (Pangkrati). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀφροδείσιος | Ἐράτωνος | Μελιτεύς.

55. *IG* III 3914. Athens (Akropolis). Poros block. Date: Roman period.

Διονύ[σ]ιος | Μελιτ[εύς] | πυ(λωρός).

It is quite possible that this is not a funerary monument, as DITTENBERGER indicated (ad loc.).

56. *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 652. Report of Kerameikos excavations of 1961/2. *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Πλαθάνη Καλλιμάχου Μελιτέως.

The report gives only the first name. The *stele* was subsequently re-used for no. 67 below.

57. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 72. Athens (Cholargos). *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Καλλιστομάχη Εὐριπ(π)ίδου Μυρρινουσίου.

58. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Athens (Lykourgou street). *Kioniskos* with *loutrophoros* relief. Date: unclear.

Μενεκράτης | Δαϊμένου | ἐγ Μυρρινούττης.

59. *BCH* 99 (1975), p. 379ff. (with figs. 1 and 2). Markopoulos; now in the DOLLY GOULANDRIS Collection, Inv. No. 553. *Stele*. Date: first half, IV B.C.

Θέμυλλος Θεμύλλου Ὁῆθεν. | Ναυσιστράτη Λυκίσκο Ὑβάδο.
| Ἀντιφάνης Θεμύλλου Ὁῆθεν. | Ἀθηνυλλίς Διονύσιου Ἀγ-
γελῆθεν. | Θέμων Ἀντιφάνου Ὁῆθεν. | Κλεοπασίς
Κλεοχάρου Ἀγγελῆθεν. | *vacat* | Ἀρχεστράτη Μελήτο
Ἀγγελῆθεν.

60. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Athens (Lykourgou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Σῆμον | Εὐμήλου | Ο(ι)ναίου | γυνή.

The original editor prints Σιμον[.] in the first line.

61. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 121f. no. 4 (with plate 2 - photograph of a squeeze of the inscribed portion). Exact provenance unclear. *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Εὐκλῆς ἐξ Οἴου | *duae rosae*

62. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 72 no. 11. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Stele*. Date: middle, IV B.C.

Εὐκτίμενος		Ὅρσιμένης
Ὅρσιμένο[υς]		Εὐκτιμένο
Παιανιεύς		Παιανιεύς
Πρωτομάχη	Νικαίο	Κολλυτέως
	θυγάτηρ	
	<i>duae rosae</i>	

63. *Hesperia* 16 (1974), p.264 no. 15. Found in a pile of stones in the inner courtyard of the National Museum in Athens, now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13063. *Stele*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

Θέω[ν] | Θέωνος | [Π]αιανιεύς.

This must cast doubts on the restoration of the patronymic in *IG* II² 7031 as [Νέ]ων.

64. *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970), p. 103ff. no. 1 (with plate 49); cf. *AAA* 4 (1971), p. 426f; *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 508f. (with fig. 1) 617. Liopesi. Relief *stele*. Date: ca. 380 B.C.

Εὐθεσίων Παλληνεύς.

65. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 35 no. 37 (a). Nea Liosia. *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Ζώπυρος | Δημοστράτου | Παλληνεύς.

The monument was re-used for no. 66 below.

66. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 35 no. 37 (b). Nea Liosia. *Kioniskos*. Date: I-II A.D.

Γνάθιον | Δορκύλου | Πειραιέως | θυγάτηρ.

67. *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 652 (b). Report of Kerameikos excavations of 1961/2. *Stele*. Date: ca. II B.C.

Θεσμοθετία Ἀγρινίου Πειραιέως.

The *stele* was used originally for no. 56 above.

68. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 46 no. 3; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700 no. 3. Athens (Kallithea). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Μοσχίων | Μόσχου | Πιθεύς.

69. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 100f. no. 2 (with plate 46.2). Kerameikos. *Stele*. Date: V/IV B.C.

Μύρτη | Πυθογένεια | Ἀντιδώρου | Πλωθείως.

The first line is cut in larger letters than the rest.

70. *AD* 27 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 123 (with plate 89 γ). Athens (Panepistemioupolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: first half, II B.C.

Ἀμύντας | Ἀμύντου | Ποτάμιος.

71. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 40 no. 2. Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Kioniskos*. Date: second half, II B.C.

Θεόμνησ[τος] | Ἐπαμείνον[ος] | Προ[βα]λίσι[ος].

Theomnestos is clearly to be identified as the secretary of the *Boule* and *Demos*

in 166/5 (*Agora* XV 216.14f., 50f.); cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1950, p. 153 no. 87. The funerary *kioniskos* of his brother, Mnesarchos, who was under-secretary in the same year (*Agora* XV 216.15, 53f.), may also be identified as SEG XXV 263. Both tomb monuments may thus be dated to the (earlier part of the) second century B.C. For an ancestor cf. *IG* II² 4444 (= *PA* 4768).

72. J. POUILLOUX, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 162 no. 56 (with plate 62.1). *Stele*. Date: (?) IV B.C.

Πραξιμένης | Πυθομένου | [Ῥ]α[μ]νοῦ[σ]τος. | *duae rosae*

73. *AD* 25 (1970), A, p. 72 no. 12. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C.

Πυθίων | Ἐκαταίου | Ῥαμνοῦσιος.

74. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 46 no. 5; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700 no. 5. Athens (Kallithea). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ξένων | Ἀδειμάντου | Στειριεύς.

75. *IG* III 3915. Sepolia. Base (first published by ΠΙΤΤΑΚΥΣ, *EA* 2147). Date: (?) Roman period.

[---]ι Οἰνόφιλος Συνδρόμου Στειριέως.

This text is included in the *fragmenta incerta* by DITTENBERGER (ad loc.) who emends the last word to Στειριε<ύ>ς.

76. *PAAH* 1963, p. 19f. (with plate 14α) = *ERGON* 1963, p. 12 (with plate 12). Athens (excavations of the Ancient Academy). Cylindrical funerary altar. Date: II A.D. (two uses).

(a) Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Στειριεύς. (first use - on upper *taenia*)

(b) Ὀλυμπιόδωρος | Ἀπολλωνίου | Στειριεύς (second use - on main surface)

77. *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p. 35 = *BCH* 79 (1955), p. 216. Athens (Ano Petralona). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Φίλιστος | Ἀριστομάχου | Συπαλήττιος.

78. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 69 (with plate 61 α). Athens (Koryzi street). *Stele*. Date: second half, IV B.C.

Σώστρατ[ος] | Ἀντιμάχ[ου] | Σφήττιο[ς] | *duae rosae* | (?) [---]

79. *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970), p. 106ff. no. 2, (with plates 49-50); cf. *Antike Kunst* 10 (1967), p. 66 (with plate 17.2). *Stele* with palmette and relief panel below the inscription. Date: ca. 370 B.C.

ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ (ad loc.) restores the patronymic as Τρύφ[ωνος].

88. *AD* 16 (1960) B, *Chron.* p. 29. Athens (Leophoros Panepistemiou). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---] | Θράσωνος | Χολαργεύς.

89. *IG* III 3920. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepion*). Marble fragment. Date: II-III A.D.

[--- Χο]λλεΐδη[ς].

This text is included in the *fragmenta incerta* by DITTENBERGER.

90. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 439f. no. 82 (with plate 106). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 12927). Pedimental *stele*. Date: IV-III B.C.

[---]ν πατέρ<α> (?) *vacat* |[---]αν Ἑρμη[---] | [---]τη δεξασ[-]ο[---]
| [---]οσύνης | [---] Ὁαθεν | *vacat* Κτησ [---] | (?) [---].

II. ISOTELEIS

91. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Porto Raphti. Fragment of a tomb monument with relief. Date: IV B.C.

Νικίας ἰσοτέλης.

The physical attributes reported appear conclusive against identification with *IG* II² 7874.

III. FOREIGN RESIDENTS WITH ETHNICS

92. Known from squeeze shown to the author only. Athens. Date: ca. I B.C.

Δαΐα | Ἀπολλωνίου | Ἀγκυρανή.

93. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 29 no. 8. In the vicinity of Spata (now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13109). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) II-I B.C.

Εὔνο[μος] | Δημητρίου | Ἀγκυρανός.

94. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 73 no. 16. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I-II A.D.

Μάτιον | Μηνοφίλου | Ἀκυρανή.

95. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 61; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1971, p. 431 no. 281. Athens (Miaoules street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

ΘΑΙ | Μηνοφίλο[υ] | Ἀκυρανή.

96. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 73f. no. 17. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]δίκ[η] | [--]μέν[ου]ς | [(?)Ἀγκυ]ρανή | Γλαυ[κ--] | Παλλη-
νέως | γυνή.

97. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Athens (Lykourgou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Εὐφροσύνη | Βίθυος | Α[ι]νί[ου] | Ἀρτε[μ]ιδώρου | Ἀγ-
κ[υρ]άνου γ[υ]νῆ.

The original editor gives lines 2ff. as ΒΙΘΥ|ΟΣ|Α[.]ΝΙ[.] and the last line as ΑΓΚ[.]ΑΝΟΥ Γ[Υ]ΝΗ.

98. Known only from squeeze shown to the author. Athens. Date: IV B.C.

Στράτεια | Στεφάνου | Αἰνία.

99. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 37; cf. *BCH* 95 (1971), p. 819. Athens (Deinocharous street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

Διονύσιος | Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.

100. *AE* 1973, *Chron.* p. 73. Athens (Peiraieus street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Ἑλλάς | Ἑρμογένου | Ἀλεξανδρῆτις.

101. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 74 no. 18. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos* with *loutrophoros*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

Θήρων | Εἰρηναίου | Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.

102. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Peiraieus. *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Ἀριστοφῶν | Ἀλικαρνάσιος.

103. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 74 no. 19. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

Ἀγάθων | Ἀγαθοβούλου | Ἀμισηνός.

104. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 37 (with plate 42 γ) + J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1971, p. 431 no. 281. Athens (Deinocharous street). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic

Ἀφροδίσιος | Δαμοξένου | Ἀντιοχεύς.

105. *AE* 1973, *Chron.* p. 55. Athens (corner of Beikou and Demetrakopoulou streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Βερενίκη | Ἀν[τ]ιοχίς | [ca. 3] ΙΑΛΛΟΥ | [θ]υγάτηρ.

For the form Ἀντιοχίς see *IG* II² 8166 (also 8133).

106. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.74 no. 20. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

Διονύσιος | Διονυσίου | Ἀντιοχεύς.

107. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 34 no. 33. Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Ἡδεῖα | Ἀρταξίου | Ἀντιόχισσα.

108. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.74 no. 21. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I-II A.D.

Νίκη | Ἡλιοδώρου | Ἀντιόχισσα.

(It seems possible that this might be identified as *SEG* XIII 141 = *Polemon* 5, 1954, p. 138 for Νικ[ίππ]η | Ἡλιοδώρου | Ἀ[ν]τιό[χ]ισσα - found in a Roman house in the vicinity of Nikis street).

109. *AE* 1973, *Chron.* p. 68. Athens (Othonos street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Νικηφόρος | Δημητρίου | Ἀντιοχεύς.

(It is possible that this is identical to *SEG* XXI 948 = *AE* 1961, *Chron.* p. 15 no. 49).

110. *Athena* 75 (1974/5), p. 65 no. 15; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1976, p. 456f. no. 218. *Kioniskos* from the house of SCHLIEMANN (original provenance unclear; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13194). Date: unclear.

Φίλα | Ἀπολλοδώρου | Ἀντιόχισσα.

111. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 66 (with plate 59β); cf. *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 606 (with fig. 46). Athens (Theophilopoulou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

Νίκη Δημητρίου | Ἀπάμισσα | Ἑρμίου | Σελγέως | γυνή.

112. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.74 no. 22. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I A.D.

Ε[ἰ]ρήνη | Ἀράβισσα.

113. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.75 no. 23. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Marble fragment. Date: III A.D.

Λάδων | Βειθυνός | Χαρείου | χαίρει|ν.

114. *AD* 22 (1967) B, *Chron.* p. 114. Athens (Siatistis street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Νικάνδρος | Ἀλεξάνδρου | Δαμασκηνός.

The report does not make clear the disposition of the text.

115. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.75 no. 24. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

[Δ]ημήτριος | Δημητρίου | Ἡρακλεώτης[ς].

116. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Athens (Lykourgou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἰσιδώρα | Διονυσίου | Ἡρακλειώτης.

117. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p.33 no. 31. Athens (found in the entrance to the Byzantine Museum - exact provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Ληναῖς | Ἀττάλου | Ἡρακλεώτης.

118. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.75 no. 25 = *BCH* 79 (1955), p.216. Athens (Omirou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: IV/III B.C.

Μαρσύας | Ἡρακλεώτης.

119. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.84 (with plate 66β); cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1973, p.84 no. 114. Athens (at the intersection of Panepistemiou and Amerikis streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

Πόα | Μηνοφίλου | Ἡρακλεώτης.

120. *Hesperia* 16 (1947), p.263 no. 11. Athens (in the vicinity of the Temple of Olympian Zeus). *Stele*. Date: IV-III B.C.

[---]ης | [Ἡρακλ]ειώτης.

121. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.75 no. 26. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II B.C.

[---] | [---]ίου | Ἡρακλεώτης.

122. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36. Athens (Lykourgou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Θοινάρχη | Ἑρμῶνος | Θεσπική.

123. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.96. Eleusis. *Stele*. Date: (?) IV B.C.

Κορυφῶ Θεσπικά. | *duae rosae*

124. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.75 no. 27 = *AE* (1971), *Chron.* p.31. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

[---] | [Σ]φσιβ[ίου] | Εἰλειεύς.

Εἰλειεύς = Ἰλιεύς. Cf. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ, *AD* 25 (1970), loc. cit.

125. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 36; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* (1964), p. 157 no. 152. Peiraieus. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Δημήτριος | Δημητρίου | Εἰδοδαῖος.

126. *Polemon* 4 (1949/50), *Symm.* λζ' no. 2. Athens (found in a garden in Patision street near to Plateia Koliatsou). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[---] | [---]τος | Καρύστιος. | *loutrophoros*

127. *PAAH* 1962, p. 14 = *ERGON* 1962, p. 18; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700. Eleusis. *Mensa*. Date: III B.C.

Σανγάριος Ἑστιαίου Κιανός.

For the name Σανγάριος cf. L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 536f.

128. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 90 (1975), p. 461. Kerameikos. *Kioniskos* with *loutrophoros* relief. Date: ca. I B.C.

Τεμὼ Πρυτανίδος θυγάτηρ Κυδωνιάτις.

129. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 75f. no. 28 = *BCH* 79 (1955), p. 216. Athens (Hephaistou street). *Kioniskos*. Date I-II A.D.

Εὔξενος | Εὐφορίωνος | Κυρηναῖος.

The text in *BCH* is given as Εὔξενος | Εὐφ[---]νος | Κυρηναῖος.

130. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 46. Athens (Kallithea). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀφροδίσιος | Σεύθου | Μαρωνίτης.

131. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 76 no. 29. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III B.C.

Θεοξενίς | Ἡροτίμου | Μεγαρική.

132. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 34 no. 35. Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Σαμιάς | Λυκίδου | Μεγαρική.

133. Known only from squeeze shown to the author. Athens. Date: I A.D.

Ἀφροδεισία | Ἱεροδότου | Μήδισα.

134. Known only from squeeze shown to the author. Athens. Date: I-II A.D.

Ἀπάτη | Ἑρμαίου | Μιλησία.

135. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 30. Athens (Peiraieus street). *Stele*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

[Α]πάτη Μοσχίου | Μιλησία | Θεοδώρου τοῦ | Μά[ρω]γος
γυνή.

The original editor gives [.]πατη Μοσχίου in line 1 and Μα[.]ιος γυνή in line 4. The name Ἀπάτη for a Milesian woman resident in Athens is attested in *IG* II² 9398 as well as in no. 134 above.

136. *AD* 16 (1960) B, *Chron.* p. 25. Athens (at the intersection of Boulis and Metropoleos streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Ἀρ[ε]ιστονίκη Ἀφροδισίου Ἐρα[---] | *corona* | Ἡρακλέων |
Παραμόνου | Μ[ε]λήσιος.

137. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 76 no. 30. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[---] | Ἀτ[---]ου | Μιλησία.

138. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 41 (with facsimile drawing). Athens (in the vicinity of the monument of Philopappos). *Stele*. Date: Roman period.

Εἰσίων | [Δ]ιογένους | [Μ]ιλήσιος.

The last two letters of the name [Δ]ιογένους are cut the one upon the other.

139. *BCH* 78 (1954), p. 96 (with figs. 1a and 1b). Athens (exact provenance unclear). Three-sided monument with a relief on the front of a girl with a dove set above the inscription. A bird is sculpted on the other two sides. Date II A.D.

Ἐπαγαθῷ | Ληναῖδος | Μειλίσια.

140. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 76 no. 31. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III A.D.

[--]νίκη | [Ε]ῦπόρου | [Μι]λησία.

141. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1967, p. 479 no. 206 (1) = *Münzen und Medaillen Basel, Auktion 34, Kunstwerke der Antike* (6 May 1967), 195 (with plate 67). Provenance unclear. *Stele*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

Ζωπύρα Εὐφραντᾶ [Μι]λησία.

142. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 31 + J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1971, p. 431 no. 281. Athens (at the intersection of Bourbachi, Ilisou, and Nezer streets). *Stele*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

Ἡρακλείδης | Ἡρακλεῖδου | Μιλήσιο[ς] | παιδα[γωγός].

143. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 52. Athens (at the corner of Bourbachi and Kokkini streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἡρακλέων | Ἀντιπάτρου | Μειλήσιος.

144. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 60 (with plate 56 β). Athens (Diakou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: I B.C. - I A.D.

Λυκίσκω | Μιλήσιος.

145. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 76 no. 33 = *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p. 29. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

Σώτιρα | Διονυσίου | Μιλησία.

146. *AD* 16 (1960) B, *Chron.* p. 29. Athens (Leophoros Panepistemiou). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Φιλωτέρα | Θεογένου | Μιλησία.

147. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 36; cf. *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 645 (with fig., 14). Athens (from excavations in Aiolou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: I-II A.D.

Φοίβη | Σοφοκλέους | Μιλησία.

148. *Hesperia* 16 (1947), p. 263 no. 12. Athens (in the vicinity of the Temple of Olympian Zeus). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

[--]νίκη | [--]μωνος | [Μιλ]ησία.

149. *Polemon* 4 (1949/50), *Symm.* δ'. Kaisariani. *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Λαιλία Ῥωμαία | γυνή | Πύρρου Νεαπολίτου.

150. *AE* 1971, *Chron.* p. 31. Athens. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Εὐθυδίκη | Πασικλοῦ Νι[--] | θυγάτηρ.

The second word of line 2 should be an ethnic (since no demotic commences thus). The obvious candidates are Νι[καιεύς] and Νι[κομηδεύς].

151. *IG* II 3423 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 2508). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele*. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[---]χη | [patronymic Ὀλ]υνθία.

The letters in the first line are much more widely spread than those in the second. Neither ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ nor KOEHLER attempted a restoration of the ethnic.

152. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 104 no. 7 (with plate 48.1). Kerameikos (cf. *AD* 21, 1966 B, *Chron.* p. 53). *Kioniskos*. Date: second half, II B.C.

Εὐανδρίς | Ἀριστοδήμου | Σαλαμινία.

153. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 34 no. 36. Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Μέλας | Διοδώρου | Σιδώνιος

154. *BCH* 79 (1955), p. 218. Athens (Chalkokondyli street). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

Δημήτριος | Ἀπολλοδώρου | Σινωπεύς.

155. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 105 no. 8 (with plate 48.2). Kerameikos. *Kioniskos*. Date: first half, II A.D.

Μᾶ | Διονυσίου | <Σ>ινωπῖτις.

156. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 77 no. 34. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III B.C.

Εὐφροσύνη | Συβα[ρίτις(?)].

The second word could otherwise be the patronymic Συβα[ρίτου].

157. J. POUILLOUX, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 164 no. 64 (with plate 62.3). Rhamnous. *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

[---]η | [---]ξένου | [ῶρ]ωπία.

158. *IG* III 3710 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3724). Athens (in the vicinity of Hagia Triada). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) Roman period.

[---] | [---]ινία.

The ethnic should be either [A]ινία or [Σαλαμ]ινία.

159. *IG* II 3419 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 2501). Athens (from a private house). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[---]ος | [---]ίου | [---]ινος.

160. *IG* II 3421. Athens (*Theseion*). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[---]νης | [---]λου | [---]ίτης.

161. *IG* II 3422 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 2503). Athens (*Theseion*). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[---]ιον | [---]νθία.

Possible ethnics include [Ἀκα]νθία, [Κορι]νθία, [ῶλυ]νθία and [Περι]νθία.

IV. PERSONS WITH EITHER DEMOTIC OR ETHNIC

162. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.78 no. 43. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[E]ῖρήνη | [--]ου Ἀγ[---] | θυγ[άτηρ].

KOUMANOUDES (ad loc.) suggests Ἀγ[νουσίου] as a possible restoration in line 2, but the demotics Ἀγ[γεληθεν] and Ἀγ[κυληθεν] as well as the ethnic Ἀγ[κυρά-νου] are equally possible.

163. *IG* III 3752 (= KOUMANOUDES 3769). Athens (*Theseion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Νικ[---] | Δη[---] | Ἀχ[---].

The position of the letters in line 3 and the rarity of names commencing Ἀχ- combine to make it likely that the word is a demotic (Ἀχ[αρνεύς], Ἀχ[εργ-δούσιος]) or an ethnic (Ἀχ[αἰός]).

164. *IG* III 3724. Kerameikos. *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Καλ[--] | Ἐπ[--] | Περ[--].

165. *IG* III 3732. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[---] Ἀηναί[ου] | [---έω]ς γυν[ή].

Line 1: the right sloping stroke of the first letter is recorded.

Line 2: the upper horizontal stroke of the *sigma* is recorded.

166. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.73 no. 15. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *stèle*. Date: II-III A.D.

Τελετή Ε[---] | [ἐκ --]έων.

167. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.96 (with plate 75 δ); cf. *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 623 (with fig. 90). Eleusis. *Stèle* with relief. Date: second half, IV B.C.

Φιλουμένη | [Δ]ιογένους | [-^{ca. 4}-]σίου γυνή | *duae rosae* | [---].

168. *IG* III 3727 (= KOUMANOUDES 3741). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--] ΑΑ [---] | [--]λέου[ς] | [--]ιεύς.

KOUMANOUDES reported the first letter of line 1 as *lambda*.

169. *IG* III 3659. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[---]ας | [---]νος | [---]τιος.

Only a few ethnics end with the sequence -τιος (e.g. [Βυζάν]τιος) so that the likelihood of a demotic is high.

170. *IG III 3667*. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[--]αχος | [--]αχου | [--]νιος.

171. *IG III 3669*. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]γος | [--]δοσίου | [--]νεύς.

172. *IG II (5) 3417 (b)*. Athens (in the vicinity of Peiraieus street). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: unclear.

[--]δημος | [--]σίου | [--]αῖος.

173. *IG III 3681 (= KOUMANOUDES 3683)*. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--] | [--]δου | [--].εύς.

LOLLING (ad *IG III 3681*) records a lower horizontal stroke before the *epsilon* in line 3 and this favours the restoration of either [Ἑρικ]εεύς or [Χαλκι]δεεύς.

174. *IG III 3785 (= KOUMANOUDES 3835)*. Athens (in the theatre of Dionysos). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--].εας | [--]ιου | [--]ιεύς.

LOLLING (ad *IG III 3785*) records an upper horizontal stroke before the *epsilon* in line 1, presumably part of either *tau* or *sigma*.

175. *IG III 3686 (= KOUMANOUDES 3690)*. Athens (in the vicinity of the *Mouseion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

[--]εια | [--]δρου | [---]ς | [---].

Line 1: the *alpha* lacks a cross bar. Line 3: an upper horizontal stroke is reported. The disposition of the text favours a short demotic or ethnic in the genitive followed by the word γυνή or θυγάτηρ in a further line.

176. *IG III 3786 (= PITTAKYS, EA 2729; KOUMANOUDES 3836)*. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]ελης | [--ο]υ | [--ε]ύς.

177. *IG III 3715 (= KOUMANOUDES 3725)*. Athens (ad *Metropolim*). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]ιος | [--]δρου | [--]εύς.

178. *IG III 3739 (= KOUMANOUDES 3751)*. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---] | [--]μάχο[υ] | [--]εύς.

179. *IG* III 3750. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

[--]νητος | [--]ωνίδου | [--]τεύ[ς].

180. *IG* III 3754 (= KOUMANOUDES 3772). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]νιο[ς] | [--]νδρο[υ] | [--]ιος.

181. *IG* III 3756 (= PITTAKYS, *EA* 2858; KOUMANOUDES 3774). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]νος | [--]μαγόρο[υ] | [--]ος.

182. *IG* II (5) 2709 (b). Provenance unclear. *Stele*. Date: (?) IV-III B.C.

[--]ομένης | [--]νους | [--]νε[ύς].

KOEHLER suggests [Ἀχαρ]νε[ύς] or [Παλλη]νε[ύς] for the third line, but an ethnic is equally possible (e.g. [Δαρδα]νε[ύς], [Μαντι]νε[ύς], etc.). The disposition of the text favours a relatively long name (such as Ἀριστ]ομένης) in the first line.

183. *IG* II (5) 4294 (b). Athens (Hephaistou street). Marble fragment. Date: unclear.

[--]όνικ[ος] | [--]ωνο[ς] | [--]ιος.

184. *IG* III 3764. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]ος | [--].ος | [--]ξύς.

Line 2: a right sloping stroke is recorded. Line 3: an upper horizontal stroke is reported.

185. *IG* III 3762 (= KOUMANOUDES 3785). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]ος | [--]ίου | [--]ύς.

Line 2: the upper part of an upright is recorded, but the surface has worn away to the left allowing for the possibility of a dotted *nu* also.

186. *IG* III 3725 (= KOUMANOUDES 3740). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

[--]ρατης | [--]του | [--]ύ[ς].

187. *IG* III 3778 (= KOUMANOUDES 3822). Athens (in the west of the city - now in the Kerameikos). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---]ς | [---]ος | [---]εύς.

188. *IG* III 3789. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[--σ]ῖράτη | [--]δῶρο[υ] | [--έω[ς θυγ[άτ]⟨η⟩ρ.

Line 1: an upper horizontal stroke before the *rho*. Line 2: a lower horizontal stroke before the *omega*. Line 3: the bottom of an upright stroke to the right of the *upsilon*; part of a lower horizontal stroke three letters further to the right.

189. *IG* III 3788 (= KOUMANOUDES 3837). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]τος | [--]δος | [--]εύς.

190. *IG* III 3799 (= KOUMANOUDES 3866). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]ώνιο[ς] | [--]άτο[υ] | [--]ι[ος].

191. *IG* II *Add.*, p. 355, 2716 (b). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

trace | [--] θυγάτηρ | [*rosa*] *rosa* | [--έ]ως γυνή.

192. *IG* III 3709 (= KOUMANOUDES 3722). Athens (*ad Metropolim*). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[-----]ιέω[ς].

V. PERSONS WITHOUT DEMOTIC OR ETHNIC

193. *IG* III 3645 (= KOUMANOUDES 3635). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

A[---] | Ελ[---] | Ματ[---] | Ατ[---].

Line 4: the first letter is recorded by DITTENBERGER as *lambda*.

194. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 35. Athens (Aiolou street). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Ἀθηναῖς | Σωστράτη | Σιμαῖθα.

195. *IG* III 3928. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepieion*). Fragment of (?) base. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

Ἀθηνίω[v].

Possibly not sepulchral. It was included with the *fragmenta incerta* by DITTENBERGER.

196. *IG* III 3649 (= KOUMANOUDES 3639). Athens (Lysiou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀλε[---] | [..]οι[---] | [---].

197. *IG* III 3650 (= KOUMANOUDES 3640). Athens (Tower of the Winds). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀλε[---] | [Π]ολυπ[---] | [..]οξ[---] | [---].

198. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 77 no. 35. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III A.D.

[---]ιδώρα | [Ἀλ]εξάνδ[ρου] | [γυν]ή (?) [---].

199. *IG* III 3655 (= KOUMANOUDES 3645). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Ἀπο[---] | Δαμ[---].

Line 2: only the two sloping strokes are recorded as (faintly) visible.

200. *IG* III 3656 (= KOUMANOUDES 3646). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἀπο[---] | Κ(?)ο[---].

201. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 441 no. 85 (with plate 106). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 12997). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) late Hellenistic.

Ἀπολ[---].

202. *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970), p. 95 ff. (with plates 45 and 46). Exact provenance unclear. *Stele* with relief depicting a dog. Date: ca. 400 B.C.

Ἀπολλόδορος | Λάκωνος | Λάκων | Λάκωνος.

203. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 34 no. 34. Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Ἀπολλώνιε | ἄλυπε χρηστέ | χαῖρε.

204. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 66 (with plate 59 γ); cf. *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 606 (with fig. 45). Athens (Theophilopoulou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-I B.C.

Λόλλιος | Ἀπολ<λ>ώνιος.

The cutter inscribed only one *lambda* in line 2.

205. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 28 f. no. 6. In the vicinity of Spata. *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

[---]όστρατος Ἀρχίπη.

206. *IG* III 3666. Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

Αὔ[---] | Α.[---].

207. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 61. Athens (Miaoules street). Base. Date: Roman period.

Βερενικίδης | Μενεκράτης Κλέωνος | Βερενικίδης.

208. *IG* III 3665 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3664). Kerameikos. *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Γα[---] | Τ[---].

209. *IG* III 3664 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3663). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

Γα.[---] | Σε.[---] | Λ[---].

Lines 1-2: of the third letter the top of an upright stroke is recorded in both lines. The disposition of the text suggests that a short name is evidenced in line 1 (perhaps Γάι[ος]).

210. *AD* 33 (1978) B, *Chron.* p. 7 (with plate 6β) = *IG* II² 10988 + *IG* III 3694. Athens (Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 9772 and EM 1028 respectively). Fragments of a *stèle*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

Γαλάτῃα Ἐ[---]ελίου.

211. *IG* III 3673 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3668). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Δα[---] | Ἀρισ[---] | [---].

212. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 30 no. 10. To the east of Liopesi (now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13107). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

Δαμώ | χαῖρε.

213. *PAAH* 1933, p. 44. Marathon. *Stèle*. Date: Roman period.

Δημοκράτεια Δημοφάνους.

It seems possible that this is to be identified as *IG* II² 11119, which was also discovered in the Marathon area, but the reported date and readings demand caution.

214. *IG* III 3672. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

Δη[---] | Σ[---] | [---].

215. *IG* III 3678. Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stèle*. Date: Hellenistic.

[..³..].Λ.[--] | [Δ]ημοσθ[εν--].

Line 1: the bottom of an upright stroke is recorded on either side of the *lambda*.
Line 2: the last visible letter has only the circular top preserved.

216. *IG* III 3679. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

Δι[---] | Δι[---] | Με[---].

217. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 441 no. 87 (with plate 106). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 12996). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

Διδύμα | [--]ιοσ[--].

218. *IG* III 3680. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

trace | Διο[--] | Νικο[--] | Γ[---].

219. *IG* III 3675 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3679). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[Δι]ονυσ[---].

220. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 133 no. 84. Peiraieus. Marble fragment. Date: unclear.

Διονύσιος | [--]ια.

221. *Polemon* 3 (1947/8), *Symm.* ιε' (with plate 1). Keratsinion. Fragment of a *naiskos*. Date: middle, IV B.C.

Διοπείθης Δι[---].

ΜΕΛΕΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (ad loc.) associates this with *IG* II² 11193 (found nearby) and suggests the restoration Διοπείθης Διο[πείθους demotic].

222. *IG* III 3676 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3680). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

Δοκώ | trace.

223. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 78 no. 42. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: II A.D.

Πομπηεία | Δόξα.

224. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 29f. no. 9 (with plate 15d). To the east of Spata. *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) I B.C. - I A.D.

Δόρκων | χρηστός.

225. *IG* III 3690. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepieion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

Ε.[---] | Ν[---] | Α[---].

The second letter of line 1 was either *pi* or *gamma*.

226. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.80 no. 50. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Stele*. Date: II A.D.

Εἰσιδότῃ Θε[--].

227. *AE* 1973, *Chron.* p.73. Athens (Peiraieus street). *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Ἑλπίας.

228. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p.35. Athens (Aiolou street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἑλπίς | Φιλέρωτος | γυνή.

229. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.78 no. 44. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III-II B.C.

Ἐπίκτητος.

230. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p.84. Athens (at the intersection of Amerikis and Panepistemiou streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἑρμαῖος | Ἑρμαίου.

231. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p.39. Athens (Demophontos street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἑρμίας.

232. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p.123f. no. 5. Athens (in Μουσεῖον Λοβέρδου). *Stele*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

Ἑρως | Ζωπύρου | Ἀβάσκαντος Ἑρώτιν | Relief.

233. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.79 no. 45. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Plax*. Date: III A.D.

Εὐδωρος | [---]ς.

234. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.79 no. 46. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: I-II A.D.

Εὐκαιρος | χρηστός.

235. *IG* III 3930. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepieion*). Fragment of a base. Date: unclear.

Εὐκλε[--] | Μητρ[--].

It is not certain that this fragment is sepulchral. DITTENBERGER set it amongst the *fragmenta incerta*.

236. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 44. Athens (Beikou street). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Εὐκολίνη.

This appears to be distinct from the *stele* for Eukoline published by O. ALEXANDRIS in *AD* 29 (1973/4), p. 115 = *SEG* XXIX 249.

237. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 103f. no. 6 (with plate 47.4). Kerameikos. *Kioniskos*. Date: IV/III B.C.

Εὐνομία | Εὐνόμου | θυγάτηρ.

238. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 71. Ilioupolis, *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Εὐφρόνιος Ἀρισταίχμη.

239. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 64 (with plate 61 α). Athens (Achilleos street). *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Ἐφέσιος.

The word is cut at the top of the *stele* just beneath the moulding. Beneath it is incised a large (sacred?) cutting implement. Presumably Ἐφέσιος is a name. (Cf. No. 258 below, where Μιλησία is probably a name.)

240. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 79 no. 47. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a base. Date: II-III A.D.

Ζώπυρος.

241. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 79 no. 48. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a pedimental *stele*. Date: first half; IV B.C.

Ζώπυρος | Εὐτέλος.

242. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 84. Athens (at the intersection of Amerikis and Panepistemiou streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἡδύλη | Λεοντίσκου | γυνή.

243. *IG* III 3703 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3712). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Ἡρακλ[---].

244. *IG* III 3702 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3711). Athens (in the church of St. Luke in Patision). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ἡρα[κλει..]ς | [Ἰ]ντι[---] | [---].

The name was probably Ἡρά[κλειτο]ς or Ἡρα[κλείδη]ς.

245. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 52. Athens (at the intersection of Kokkini and Bourbachi streets). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Γάειος | Πάπιος | Ἡφαιστίων.

246. *AE* 1961, *Chron.* p. 20 no. 78 (with plate IAα). Salamis. *Naiskos*. Date: *ca.* middle, IV B.C.

Θάλλιον.

247. *AD* 24 (1969) B, *Chron.* p. 69. Athens (Prophitou Daniel street). *Plax* with incised *lekythos*. Date: unclear.

Θεο[---].

248. *IG* III 3720 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3731). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

Ἰππ[---] | [.]ρα[---].

249. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 102 no. 4 (with plate 47.1); cf. *Archeologia Classica* 25/26 (1973/4), p. 534ff. Kerameikos. *Loutrophoros* fragment. Date: *ca.* 375-350 B.C.

Καινεὺς Ἱεροκλέους.

For the likely demotic (Ἀλαιοεύς) cf. D. DELMOUZOU-PEPPAS, *Archeologia Classica* 25/26 (1973/4), p. 529ff. See No. 10 above.

250. *AD* 26 (1971) B, *Chron.* p. 30; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin* 1974, p. 222 no. 227. Nea Liosia. *Lekythos*. Date: first half, IV B.C.

Καλλίπ(π)η Μνησιπτόλεμος Ἀπολλόδωρος
Νεοπτολέμη Ἀπολλοφάνης

251. *IG* III 3731. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Κοί[ντος--] | Κα[ικίλι--].

252. *PAAH* 1963, p. 22 (with plate 17β). Athens (excavations of the Ancient Academy). *Stele* with relief panel. Date: Hellenistic.

[---] | (?)Κρο.[--^{ca.} 4--] | Relief panel.

Readings from the photograph; the first letter is very indistinct.

253. *IG* III 3728 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3742). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Λα[---] | Λη[---].

254. *IG* III 3740 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3752). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Μελ[---] | Ἀθην[---] | [---].

255. *IG* III 3742 (= KOUMANOUDES 3759). Athens (*Theseion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Μην[---] | Παμ[---] | [ʼΑ]γαθ[---] | [---].

256. *Hesperia* 16 (1947), p. 66 no. 5. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: IV-III B.C.

[Μ]ητρίς | ..[---].

257. *PAAH* 1963, p. 20. Athens (excavations of the Ancient Academy). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Μικυ[---].

258. *AD* 20 (1965) B, *Chron.* p. 64 (with plate 43 α). Athens (Venizelou street). The top portion of a *stele* with the inscription on the *epistyle*. Date: late Roman.

--- Μίλησία. Εἰδομενέως. Μελίτω[v] | ----.

There is a second line, but the photograph does not permit readings. It seems likely that Μίλησία is a name. (Cf. No. 239 above.)

259. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 71 f. Athens (Cholargos). *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Μνησίλλα Χαροιάδης.

260. *IG* III 3927. Athens (south slope of the Akropolis in the *Asklepieion*). Marble fragment. Date: unclear.

Μυρωνί[δης] (?).

It is not certain that this is sepulchral, and DITTENBERGER set it amongst the *fragmenta incerta*.

261. *IG* III 3751 (= KOUMANOUDES 3770). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Νίκη (?).

It is possible that this is part of a name only. KOUMANOUDES read the letters NY in a second line.

262. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 80 no. 51. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: II-III A.D.

[---Νι]κηφόρου Ε[---].

263. *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 658 (with fig. 13). Vari. Stone fragment. Date: unclear.

Ξενὸ ἱέρεια.

Cf. *IG* II² 11392 and 12200 for similar sacred designations.

264. *IG* III 3757 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3781). Athens (by the *Theseion*). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Ο[---] | Δ[---] | Α[---].

265. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 28 no. 5. In the district of Kroniza, east of Kouvara. *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Πάμφιλος Κλειτόπολ[ι]ς.

266. *BCH* 73 (1949), p. 527 (with plate 32.2). Charvati. Relief *stele* depicting a woman looking at her reflection in a mirror. The epigrammatic text is just below the moulding above the sculpted figure. Date: first half, IV B.C.

Πᾶσι θανεῖν εἴμαρται ὅσοι ζῶσιν, σὺ δὲ πένθος οἰ-
κτρὸν ἔχειν ἔλιπες Πανσιμάχη προγόνους μητρὶ
τε Φαινίππη καὶ πατρὶ Πανσανίαι· σῆς δ' ἄρετῆς μνη-
μεῖον ὄραν τόδε τοῖς παρίοσιν σωφροσύνης τε.

267. *AJA* 51 (1947), p. 366ff. no. 2 (with plate LXXXIX B-C). Cf. O. MASSON, *Festschrift H. Hoeningwald*, p. 256f. Liopesi. Sculptured *stele* depicting a farewell scene. Date: first half, IV B.C.

Πενταρίστη Πανταρίστη

268. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 80 no. 53. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a base. Date: II A.D.

[--]. ΠΑΙΟ [---] | [---]ερὸν ἡρμῶσ[---] | [---] Περικλῆος ἀφα[---] |
[---]ομένη κούρ[---] | [---]ετας *vacat*.

269. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 25. Athens (Troon street). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Πολυκλείδης | Ἀρτεμιδώρου.

270. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 71. Ilioupolis. *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Πορφυ[---].

271. *IG* III 3770 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3811). Athens (near to the monument of Lysikrates). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Πω[---] | Μα[---].

272. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 46; cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700. Athens (Kallitheia). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Σαώ.

273. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 81 no. 55. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Stele*. Date: (?) II-III A.D.

[---] | Ξ.ΟΕΠΙ | [---] Σεραπίωνο[ς].

The disposition and dating of the text are unclear from the published version.

274. *AD* 17 (1962) B, *Chron.* p. 26 (with plate 29); cf. *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 651 (with plate XXIII). Athens (Mirtzephsky street). *Stele* with relief scene. Date: second half, IV B.C.

ἦδε κασιγνήτη ἡ Σμικύθο ἔνθαδε κεῖται | πένθος τῆς ἀρετῆς
πᾶσι φίλοις θεμένῃ.

275. *IG* III 3780 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 2825). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---] | [---] | Στ[---].

276. *IG* III 3781 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3826). Athens (near to the monument of Lysikrates). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Στ[---] | Α[---] | Εὐ[---].

277. *IG* III 3783 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3831). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele* fragment. Date: unclear.

[---]ρος Συμ[---].

278. *AM* 85 (1970), p. 103 no. 5 (with plate 47.2). Kerameikos. *Alabastron*. Date: ca. 317 B.C.

Σύρος.

279. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 440 no. 83 (with plate 106). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13426). *Stele*. Date: IV-III B.C.

Σωσ[---] | Σολ[---] | Κονω[---].

The third line was probably inscribed later.

280. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 31. Athens (Peiraieus street). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Σωστράτη | Φανιάδου.

281. *AD* 25 (1970) B, *Chron.* p. 53 (with plate 53 β). Athens (at the intersection of Bourbachi, Kallirrhois, and Diamantopoulou streets). *Stele* with relief carved on the main surface. Date: Imperial Roman period.

Σώφρων Εὐπόρου.

282. *IG* III 3784 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3834). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---] | [---] | Τ[---].

283. Known only from a squeeze shown to the author. Attica. Date: IV B.C.

Τεισαρχίδης | Φιληκῶ | Κηφισόδωρος.

284. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 50 (with plate 55β). Attica (Hagios Ioannes Rentis). *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Τείσαρχος, Εὐφ[---], [---]ος.

285. *PAAH* 1963, p. 15 (with plate 7β). Athens (excavations of the Ancient Academy). *Stele* with *loutrophoros*. Date: unclear (the letters are not visible in the photograph).

Τελέστης Τελέστου.

286. *AE* 1939/41, *Chron.* p. 1. Athens (Kypseli). *Lekythos*. Date: IV B.C.

Τιμαρέτη : Χαρίας.

287. *IG* III 3795 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3846). Athens (*Odeion* of Herodes Atticus). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

Φ[---].

288. *AD* 18 (1963) B, *Chron.* p. 45f. (no. 1); cf. *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 700. Athens (Kallithea). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

Φαινίπη.

289. *IG* III 3803 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3852). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[Φ]ανοκ[---] | [Κ]αλλι[---] | [..].[---].

290. *AD* 19 (1964) B, *Chron.* p. 72. Athens (Cholargos). *Stele*. Date: IV B.C.

Φανοστράτη.

291. *IG* III 3804. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Φιλ[---] | Κ[---].

292. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p. 81 no. 58. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Kioniskos*. Date: III A.D.

Φιλήμων Βάσου.

293. *IG* III 3805. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

Φιλ[---] | Λε[---] | Πα[---].

294. *PAAH* 1963, p. 20 no. 6. Athens (excavations of the Ancient Academy). *Stele*. Date: unclear.

[Φ]ιλόμηλος | [---]ΑΑΝ[---] (?).

295. *IG* III 3798 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3860). Athens (*Theseion*). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: Roman period.

[---]ια Φλ(αουίου) | [--] γυνή.

296. *IG* III 3674 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3674). Athens (theatre of Dionysos). *Kioniskos*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[--]αδης | [---]ος | [--].[--].

Line 1: the right sloping stroke of the first letter. Line 3: the top of either *beta* or *rho*.

297. *IG* III 3652. Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: Roman period.

[--]αμε[--] | [--]σιου[--] | [--]στησ[--] | [--]ς θυ[γάτηρ].

Line 1: the right sloping stroke of the first letter.

298. *IG* II 4292 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3749). Peiraieus. *Stele*. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[--]άχη | [---] θυ[γάτηρ].

299. *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 441 no. 86 (with plate 106). Athens (north slope of the Akropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 12970), *Kioniskos*. Date: Imperial Roman period.

[--]γένης | [--]ον[--].

300. *IG* III 3677 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3681). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[..⁴..]δοτ[-] | χ[ρη]στ[-].

301. *IG* III 3682 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3682). Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: unclear.

[----]δότου.

302. *IG* III 3687 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3691). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--]εια | [---]ου.

303. *IG* III 3689. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[--]εναιο[-] | [--].T.[-].

Line 2: an upper horizontal stroke before the *tau*; part of a left upright (or *iota*) after the *tau*.

304. *IG* III 3701 (= KOUMANOUDES 3710). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[---]η | [---]μος | [---]α.

Line 3: there is no cross bar.

305. *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p.30 no. 11. To the east of Liopesi (now in the Epigraphical Museum as EM 13108). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: IV B.C.

[--]θεο[--] | [--]εω[--] | *vacat*.

306. *IG* III 3707 (= KOUMANOUDES 3719). Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: unclear.

[--]θοκλήης | [---]δος.

307. *IG* III 3719 (= PITTAKYS, *EA* 912; KOUMANOUDES 3734). Athens (Tower of the Winds). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[---]ισιος) | [---]ς.

The second line depends on the report of KOUMANOUDES.

308. *IG* III 3730 (= KOUMANOUDES 3746). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: II-III A.D.

[---]λη | [---]φανους.

309. *IG* III 3704 (= KOUMANOUDES 3714). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[---]λης | [---]σιος.

The second line appears to be in a different hand from the first.

310. *IG* III 3738 (= KOUMANOUDES 3750). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[---] | [--]μάχου | [---].

311. *IG* III 3743. Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: late Hellenistic.

.[---] | μοκ[---] | σιου.[---] | εο[---].

Line 1: the bottom of a left sloping stroke. Line 3: the top of an upright.

312. *IG* II (5) 4296 (b). Athens (*ad aream Concordiae*). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[-----]μων.

313. *IG* III 3748 (= PITTAKYS, *EA* 2826; KOUMANOUDES 3767). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[--^{ca. 4--}]νης | [--^{ca. 4--}]κλείδου | [χρη]στός.

314. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 133 no. 23. Peiraieus (found in the sea at Zea). Date: unclear.

[--]νιδη[ς] | [---]του | [---]ρου.

315. *IG* III 3755. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Roman period.

[--]νοια | [--]ώρου | [---].

316. *IG* III 3758 (= KOUMANOUDES 3783). Athens (theatre of Dionysos). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]όδ[ωρος] | [--]οδώ[ρου].

317. *IG* II 4294. Provenance unclear - seen in Lansdowne House (London). *Stele* with relief. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[---]ομένους θυγά[τηρ].

318. *IG* III 3761 (= KOUMANOUDES 3794). Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: (?) Hellenistic.

[---]ος | [---]ος | [---]τος.

Line 3: (?) [χρησ]τός.

319. *IG* III 3771 (= KOUMANOUDES 3814). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele* fragment. Date: unclear.

[---]ρου | [--]ων.

320. *IG* II 3418 (= KOUMANOUDES 2495). Athens (Akropolis). Fragment of a *stele*. Date: unclear.

[--].σίας | [--]ανος.

Line 1: an upright stroke before the *sigma*.

321. *IG* III 3768 (= KOUMANOUDES 3799). Athens (Akropolis). *Stele* fragment. Date: unclear.

[---ο]υ υἱός.

322. *IG* II 4295 (= KOUMANOUDES 3841). Athens (in the National Museum). *Stele* fragment. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[---]ύλη | [---]ίλου | [rosa] *rosa*.

323. *IG* II 4296 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 2891). Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Stele* fragment. Date: (?) IV B.C.

[---] Γ [--] | [---]ύνομος.

324. *IG* III 3794 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3844). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: late Hellenistic.

[---]υσίας | [---ο]υ.

The second line depends upon ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ.

325. *IG* III 3797 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3851). Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[--]φάνης | [---ο]υ | [--].

326. *IG* III 3683 (= ΠΙΤΤΑΚΥΣ, *EA* 628, 2657; ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3684). Athens (either in the Tower of the Winds or by the Acharnian Gate). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

[--]ωρος | [--]νου | [--]ίδης | [--]ων.

327. *AD* 25 (1970) A, p.82 no. 61. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of (?) *stele*. Date: III A.D.

[---]θνήσκω δὲ λ[---] | [---]ων δὲ [---] | [--] οὐκέτι [---] | [----].

328. *IG* III 3809 (= ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ 3874). Athens (between the Pnyx and the Mouseion Hill). *Kioniskos*. Date: unclear.

[----] | χαῖρε.

329. *IG* III 3807. Athens (Akropolis). *Kioniskos*. Date: Hellenistic.

[----] | χρησ[τ]ή.

VI. MISCELLANEA

330. *AD* 28 (1973) B, *Chron.* p.653 (with plate 617 β). *Lekythos* acquired by the Ephorate for Sales of Antiquities and Private Collections in 1971. Date: middle, IV B.C.

Αἰσχίδιππος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ | Αἰσχύλος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ.

This is surely to be identified as *IG* II² 6512, which was reported as lost by KIRCHNER and CONZE (No. 693). It was originally discovered in 1858 at Sepollia and published by ΠΙΤΤΑΚΥΣ as *EA* 3219 (and subsequently by ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ, 683). It was clearly unavailable to KOEHLER, whose facsimile is based on the publication of ΠΙΤΤΑΚΥΣ (*IG* II 2212). The first name was given as Αἰσχ[εῖ]λιππος by ΠΙΤΤΑΚΥΣ (followed by CONZE) and as Αἰσχ[ύ]λιππος by ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ,

followed by KOEHLER (in defiance of his facsimile, which records after the *chi* a left upright stroke with an adjoining upper, horizontal stroke consonant with *epsilon*, followed by a dot) and KIRCHNER. A slight hesitation is still perhaps possible over the fifth and sixth letters of this name, since they are not absolutely clear in the photograph provided, but the readings of ANDREIOMENOU seem reasonable. The salient details are as follows:

Letter 5: there is a clear upright stroke inclining slightly to the right. To the left of this there is a mark which might possibly be the upper left stroke of an *upsilon*. But this small mark is very close to the preceding *chi* and so would mean that the putative *upsilon* was cut very close to the letter before it, whereas the letters are well spaced elsewhere in the text. Also the *upsilon* is made up of three distinct strokes elsewhere in this inscription. These considerations favour the reading of *iota*.

Letter 6: there appears to be a trace of a lower horizontal stroke (favouring *delta*) but it must be acknowledged that this is very close to the top of the head of the figure on the left beneath the inscription.

The name is thus Αἰσχιδίππος, and PA 428 should be emended accordingly.

331. AD 25 (1970) A, p. 72f. no. 13. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). Fragment of a *kioniskos*. Date: III A.D.

This is surely to be identified as IG II² 5549, which KIRCHNER stated to be *in turri Andronici*. The text may be read thus:

Ἀντίπατρο[ς] | Στεριεύς | Νύμφη Ἀλωπεκ[ῆθεν].

332. IG II² 9431.

This monument, formerly in Venice, is now in Verona. Cf. Tullia RITTI, *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiano di Verona*, Roma 1981, p. 171 no. 105 (with plate). It may be dated to the late second century A.D., and the correct disposition of the text, which is set above the niche of a flat-topped *naiskos* monument, is as follows:

Ἀρτεμῆς Δημητρίου Μειλήσιος.

333. *Hesperia* 14 (1945), p. 149 no. 20. Fragment of a *stèle* built into the Church of St. John one kilometre north of Chalandri. Date: early IV B.C.

This monument is clearly identical to that published by W. PEEK as AM 67 (1942), p. 126 no. 274. The text is as follows:

Κνίφων ῥΡ [---].

334. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 118ff. no. 3 (with plate 1). Athens (exact provenance unclear). *Stèle*. Date: first half, IV B.C.

This is clearly IG II² 12373, reported as lost by KIRCHNER. The text may be read thus:

Ὀνήσιμος Ἀνθηδών | *duae rosae* | Γλυκέρα | (Relief panel).

335. AD 25 (1970) A, p. 80f. no. 54. Athens (Roman Agora - but original provenance uncertain). *Stèle* fragment. Date: IV B.C.

This is to be identified as *IG* II² 12819/20, seen by KIRCHNER in the Tower of the Winds. The text may be read thus:

Το[---] | vacat 0.05 m | Φανοστ[ρα---] | Πυρικλε[---] | Σατυρ[---] |
Χαιρελε[---].

336. *SEG* XXV 264 = A. K. ANDREIOMENOU *AD* 23 (1968) A, p. 133 no. 5. *Stele* fragment from the Peiraieus. No further details.

Φιλάρετος | Φιλαρέτου | Σουνιεύς.

It seems possible that this is in fact identical to *SEG* XXIII 141 = Th. ARVANITOPOULOS, *Polemon* 8 (1965/6), p. 42 (with photograph in fig. 13) which is to be found in a school in the Peiraieus, and the text of which reads:

Φιλαίνετος | Φιλαινέτου | Σουνιεύς.

337-339. *Polemon* 4 (1949), p. 127f. and 135.

MELETOPOULOS provides texts of three funerary monuments from the region of the Peiraieus. All three are to be found in the *Corpus* with somewhat improved texts, viz.

337. *Lekythos* (p. 127f.)

Μεινόνικος Σουνιεύς Ἡγησίππη Ἡγησάρχου Λαμπτρέως.

For this read (with *IG* II² 7415)

Ἀμεινόνικος	Ἡγησίππη
Σουνιεύς	Ἡγησάρχου Λαμπτρέως.

338. *Stele* fragment (p. 135).

--ΣΜΑΝΚΟΣ | ΚΙΝΩΠΗ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟ

For this read (with *IG* II² 12038)

[- -]ς Μάνυκος | Κινώπη Σωστράτο.

The name in the second line is extremely unusual and it is perhaps possible to consider Κωνώπη (for which cf. *Agora* XVII 895).

339. *Lekythos* (p. 135).

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ ΗΔΥΛΗ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ Χ [...]

For this read (with *IG* II² 7813, slightly amended to remove the restored demotic).

Πλάτων Ἡδύλη Πλάτων : Χ[---]

340. A number of titles published originally in *IG* I² have been judged subsequently to belong *post* 403/2 and they are thus re-edited in *IG* II² (*IG* I² 1047 = *IG* II² 10476; 1048 = 9039; 1054 = 10505; 1059 = 12300; 1081 =

10389). To these should now be added the following, which will not figure in *IG* I³ (as Professor D. M. LEWIS informs me *per epistulam*): — *IG* I² 1031; 1046; 1065; 1066; 1070 (2); 1071; 1072; 1077; 1082; 1083).

REGISTER OF NAMES

(Fragmentary names are not listed here except where they constitute the opening letter(s) of the name or where they figure in a title which has other names, demotics or ethnics preserved. In practice this means that the broken names from the following texts are not included: 158-161; 168-192; 296-326).

- A [--], *inc.* 193.1.
 A [--], *inc.* 264.3.
 A [--], *inc.* 276.2.
 A [---] (?), *late Hell.* 225.3 (not certainly a name).
 A. [--], ? *Hell.* 206.2
 Ἀβάσκαντος, *Imp.* 232.3
 Ἀβρων Καλλίου Βατῆθεν, *ca. med.* II B.C. 22.1.
 [Ἀ]γαθ[-], *inc.* 255.3.
 Ἀγαθίων Νέωνος Ἀθμονεύς II-III B.C. 3.1.
 Ἀγαθόβουλος (Ἀμισηνός), father of Ἀγάθων, I B.C. - I A.D. 103.2.
 Ἀγάθων Ἀγαθοβούλου Ἀμισηνός, I B.C. - I A.D. 103.1.
 Ἀγεινίας Πειραιεύς, father of Θεσμοθετία, *ca.* II B.C. 67.
 Ἀγησίστρατος (Ἐπικηφίσιος), father of Κλεόφαντος, IV-III B.C. 27.2.
 Ἀδείμαντος (Στεριεύς), father of Ξένων, *inc.* 74.2.
 Ἀθην[-], *inc.* 254.2.
 Ἀθηναῖς Τιμοφάνου Ἐλευσινίου, *inc.* 25.1.
 Ἀθηναῖς, *inc.* 194.1.
 Ἀθηνίω[v], ? *Hell.* 195.
 Ἀθηνόδωρος Αἰξωνεύς, father of Φιλίστα, III B.C. 8.2.
 Ἀθηνυλλίς Διονυσίου Ἀ[γ]γελῆθεν, wife of Ἀντιφάνης Θεμύλλο II Ὀῆθεν, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.4.
 Ἀλε[-], *inc.* 196.1.
 Ἀλε[-], *inc.* 197.1.
 Ἀλέξανδρος (Δαμασκηνός), father of Νικάνδρος, *Rom.* 114.2.
 [Ἀ]λέξανδ[ρος], (?) husband of [-]ιδώρα, III A.D. 198.2.
 Ἀλέξαρχος (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of Κλέϊππος, II-I B.C. 20.2.
 [Ἀ]λκίμαχος Ἀγγελῆθεν, father of [Τ]εισικράτεια, *post med.* IV B.C. 5.6.
 Ἀμοῖβι[χος] I ([Λαμπρέυς]), father of Φιλοκήδης I, IV B.C. 32.2.
 Ἀμοῖβιχος II Φιλοκήδους I (Λαμπρέυς), father of Φιλοκήδης II, IV B.C. 32.6,9.
 Ἀμοῖβιχος III Γοργύθο[υ] ([Λαμπρέυς]), husband of Τιμαρέτη Οἰκοτέλος [Λαμπρέως], father of Διοπεΐθης, IV B.C. 32.4,7.
 Ἀμύντας I (Ποτάμιος), father of Ἀμύντας II, *ante med.* II B.C. 70.2.
 Ἀμύντας II Ἀμύντου I Ποτάμιος, *ante med.* II B.C. 70.1.
 Ὀρβίνιος [Ἀμύ]ντωρ Ἀραφήνιος, *Rom.* 18.1.
 [Ἀ]ντι[-], *inc.* 244.2.
 Ἀντιγένης Νικό Τειθράσιος, probably husband of Ἴπποστράτη Πανσέο, *ca.* 370 B.C.

- Ἀντίδωρος Πλωθειεύς, father of Πυθογένεια, V-IV B.C. 69.3.
 Ἀντίμαχ[ος] Σφήττιος, father of Σώστρατ[ος], *post med.* IV B.C. 78.2.
 Ἀντίπατρος (Μειλήσιος), father of Ἡρακλέων, *inc.* 143.2.
 Ἀντιφάνης Θεμύλ[λο] II Ὀῆθ[εν], husband of Ἀθηνυλλίς Διονυ[σίου] Ἀ[γ]γεληθέν, father of Θέμων, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59. 3,5.
 Ἀντιφάτης Κηφισοδώρου Φηγαιεύς, IV B.C. 82.
 Ἀπάτη Ἑρμαίου Μιλησία, I-II A.D. 134.1.
 [Ἀ]πάτη Μοσχίου Μιλησία, wife of Θεόδωρος Μά[ρω]νος, I B.C. - I A.D. 135.1.
 Ἀπο[--], *Rom.* 199.1.
 Ἀπο[--], *inc.* 200.1.
 Ἀπολ[--], *late Hell.* 201.
 Ἀπολλύδωρος Θεοκλέους Ἰφιστιάδης, *inc.* 33.1.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος (Μαραθώνιος), father of Διόδωρος, *inc.* 53.2.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀντισχεύς, father of Φίλα, *inc.* 110.2.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος (Σινωπεύς), father of Δημήτριος, *Hell.* 154.2.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Λάκωνος (I), *ca.* 400 B.C. 202.1.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος, *ante med.* IV B.C. 250.
 Ἀπολλοφάνης, *ante med.* IV B.C. 250.
 Ἀπολλωνίδης Περιθοίδης, husband of Καλλιστῶ Μενάνδρου Ἰωνίδου, *inc.* 34.5.
 [Ἀ]πολλώνιος I (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of [Ἀ]πολλώνιος II, I B.C. - I A.D. 17.2.
 [Ἀ]πολλώνιος II [Ἀ]πολλωνίου I Ἀχαρνεύς. I B.C. -I A.D. 17.1.
 Ἀπολλώνιος Μαραθώνιος, *Rom.* 52.1.
 Ἀπολλώνιος (Στεირεύς), father of Ὀλυμπιόδωρος II, II A.D. 76 (b) 2.
 Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀγκυρανός), father of Δαΐα, *ca.* I B.C. 92.2.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, II-I B.C. 203.1.
 Λόλλιος Ἀπολλώνιος, II-I B.C. 204.
 Ἀρεσίας I Θορ[--], father of [..⁴..]ώ, IV B.C. 32.1.
 Ἀρεσίας II Φιλοκήδο[υς] I [Λαμπρεύς], IV B.C. 32.3.
 Ἀρισ[--], *inc.* 211.2
 Ἀριστ [- Λευ]κονοεύς, father of [Κα]λλιστῶ, *ante med.* IV B.C. 51.1.
 Ἀρισταίχη, IV B.C. 238.
 Ἀριστόδημος (Σαλαμίνιος), father of Εὐανδρίς, *post med.* II B.C. 152.2.
 Ἀριστομάχη Ἀσωποδώρου Κυδαθηναίως, IV B.C. 41.1.
 Ἀριστόμαχος (Συπαλήττιος), father of Φίλιστος, *inc.* 77.2.
 Ἀρ[ε]ιστονίκη Ἀφροδισίου, *Rom.* 136.1.
 Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀλικαρνάσιος, *inc.* 102.1.
 Ἀρταξίας (Ἀντισχεύς), father of Ἡδεΐα, II-I B.C. 107.2.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος I (Ἀφιδναῖος), father of Ἀρτεμίδωρος II, *late Hell.* 16.2.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος II Ἀρτεμιδώρου I Ἀφιδναῖος, *late Hell.* 16.1.
 Ἀρτε[μ]ίδωρος Ἀγκ[υρ]ανός, husband of Εὐφροσύνη Βίθους Α[ἰ]νί[ου], *inc.* 97.4.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, father of Πολυκλείδης, *inc.* 269.2.
 Ἀρχεστράτη Μελήτο Ἀγγεληθέν, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.7.
 Ἀρχίας [Λαμ]πρεύς, father of Δημο[σ]τράτη, *inc.* 46.2.
 Ἀρχίπη, IV B.C. 205.
 Ἀσώπιος Λυσίππο Ἀγρυλῆθεν, father of Λῦσις, *ca. med.* IV B.C. 2.1,2.
 Ἀσωπόδωρος Κυδαθηναίως, father of Ἀριστομάχη, IV B.C. 41.1.
 Ἀτ[--], *inc.* 193.4.
 Ἀτ[--]ου (*gen.*) (Μειλήσιος), *Rom.* 137.2.
 Ἀτταλος (Ἡρακλεώτης), father of Ληναῖς, II-I B.C. 117.2.
 Αὐ[--], ? *Hell.* 206.1.
 Αὔλιος Πωλλί[ω]νος Ἀχαρνεύς, *Rom.* 18.1.

Ἀφροδεῖσῖα Ἱεροδότου Μήδισα, I A.D. 133.2.

Ἀφροδεῖσιος Ἐράτωνος Μελιτεὺς, *inc.* 54.1.

Ἀφροδῖσιος Δαμοξένου Ἀντιοχεύς, *late Hell.* 104.1.

Ἀφροδῖσιος Σεύθου Μαρωνίτης, *inc.* 130.1 f.

Ἀφροδῖσιος, father of Ἀρ[ε]ιστονίκη, *Rom.* 136.1.

Βάκχιος Αἰ(ξ)ωνεύς, husband of Ἰθάκη, *med.* I B.C. 7.1.

Βάσος, father of Φιλήμων, III A.D. 292.

Βερενίκη Ἀν[τ]ιοχίς (ΙΑΛΛΟΥ [θ]υγάτηρ), *inc.* 105.1.

Βερενικίδης, *Rom.* 207.1,3.

Βίθυσ Αἰ[ν]ίος, father of Εὐφροσύνη, *inc.* 97.2.

Βουλόστρατος Δωροθέου Ἀγρυλῆθεν, *inc.* 1.1.

Γ[---] (?), *Rom.* 218.3 (not certainly a name).

Γα[---], *inc.* 208.1.

Γα[---], *late Hell.* 209.1.

Γαλάττα, *Imp.* 210.

Γλαυ[κ-] Παλληνεύς, husband of [-]δίκ[η-]μέν[ου]ς Ἀγκυ[β]ρανή, *inc.* 96.4.

Γνάθιον Δορκύλου Πειραιέως, I-II A.D. 66.2.

Γόργυθος [Λαμπρέυς], father of Ἀμοίβιχος III, probably son of Ἀμοίβιχος I, IV B.C. 32.4.

Δ[---], *inc.* 264.2.

Δα[---], *inc.* 211.1.

Δαῖα Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀγκυρανή, *ca.* I B.C. 92.1.

Δαῖμένης (ἐγ Μυρρινούτης), father of Μενεκράτης, *inc.* 58.2.

Δαμ[---], *Rom.* 199.2.

Δαμέδων, husband of Καλλιπὴ Φιλιστίδου Ἐλευσινίου, III B.C. 26.5.

Δαμόξενος (Ἀντιοχεύς), father of Ἀφροδῖσιος, *late Hell.* 104.2.

Δαμώ, II-III A.D. 224.

Δη[---], *Hell.* 214.1.

Δη[---] (Ἀχ[---]), father of Νικ[---], *inc.* 163.2.

Δημαίνετος Ἀχαρνεύς, probably son of Ἐπαίνετος I, father of Ἐπαίνετος II, *post med.* IV B.C. 19.1,4.

Δημαίνετος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), father of Εὐδοξος, IV B.C. 42.2

Δημήτριος Ἐπαίνετου Ἀχαρνέως, *post med.* IV B.C. 19.2.

Δημήτριος (Ἀνκυρανός), father of Εὐνο[μος], (?) II-I B.C. 93.2.

Δημήτριος (Ἀντιοχεύς), father of Νικηφόρος, *inc.* 109.2.

Δημήτριος (Ἀπαμεύς), father of Νίκη, *late Hell.* 111.1.

Δημήτριος I (Εἰδοαῖος), father of Δημήτριος II, *inc.* 125.2.

Δημήτριος II Δημητρίου I Εἰδοαῖος, *inc.* 125.1.

Δημήτριος I (Ἡρακλεώτης), father of [Δ]ημή[τρι]ος II, II-I B.C. 115.2.

[Δ]ημή[τρι]ος II Δημητρίου I Ἡρακλεώτης, II-I B.C. 115.1

Δημήτριος Ἀπολλοδώρου Σινωπέως, *Hell.* 154.1.

Δημοκράτεια Δημοφάνους, *Rom.* 213.

[Δ]ημοσθ[εν-], *Hell.* 215.4.

Δημο[σ]τράτη Ἀρχίου [Λαμ]πρέ[ως], *inc.* 46.1.

Δημόστρατος (Παλληνεύς), father of Ζώπυρος, II-I B.C. 65.1.

Δημοφάνης, father of Δημοκράτεια, *Rom.* 213.

Δημοφίλη Ἐπιλύκου [Αἰ]γυλιέως, II-I B.C. 6.1.

Δι[---], *med.* IV B.C. 221.

Δι[---], ? *Hell.* 216.1.

- Δι[--], ? *Hell.* 216.2.
 Διδύμα, ? *Hell.* 217.1.
 Διο[--], *Rom.* 218.1.
 [Δ]ιογένης (Μιλήσιος), father of Εἰσίων, *Rom.* 138.2.
 [Δ]ιογένης [-^c 4-], father of Φιλουμένη, *post. med.* IV B.C. 167.2.
 Διόδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρου Μαραθώνιος, *inc.* 53.1.
 Διόδωρος (Σιδώνιος), father of Μέλας, II-I B.C. 153.2.
 [Δι]ονυσ[--], *Rom.* 219.
 Διονύ[σιος] Ἀ[γ]γεληθεν, father of Ἀθηνυλλίς, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.4.
 Διονύ[σιος] Μελιτ[εύς], *Rom.* 55.1.
 Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, *Hell.* 99.1.
 Διονύσιος I (Ἀντιοχεύς), father of Διονύσιος II, II-III A.D. 106.2.
 Διονύσιος II Διονυσίου I Ἀντιοχεύς. II-III A.D. 106.1.
 Διονύσιος (Ἡρακλεώτης), father of Ἴσιδώρα, *inc.* 116.2.
 Διονύσιος (Μιλήσιος), father of Σώτιρα, II-III A.D. 145.2.
 Διονύσιος (Σινωπέυς), father of Μᾶ, *ante med.* II A.D. 155.2.
 Διονύσιος, *inc.* 220.1.
 Διοπείθης Ἀμοιβίχου III (Λαμπτρέυς), IV B.C. 32.7.
 Διοπείθης, *med.* IV B.C. 221.
 Δοκώ, II-III A.D. 222.
 Πομπεία Δόξα, II A.D. 223.
 Δορκύλος Πειραιεύς, father of Γνάθιον, I-II A.D. 66.2.
 Δόρκων, (?) I B.C. - I A.D. 224.
 Δωρόθεος (Ἀγρυληθεν), father of Βουλόστρατος, *inc.* 1.2.
- Ε[--] ([ἐκ --]έων), father of Τελέτη, II-III A.D. 166.
 Ε[--], *Imp.* 210.
 Ε[--], II-III A.D. 262.
 Ε[--], *late Hell.* 225.1.
 Εἰδομενεὺς, *Imp.* 258.
 Εἰρηναῖος (Ἀλεξανδρεὺς), father of Θήρων, I B.C. - I A.D. 101.2.
 Ε[ι]ρήνη Ἀράβισσα, I A.D. 112.
 [Ε]ιρήνη [-]ου Αγ[--], *inc.* 162.
 Εἰσιδότη, II A.D. 226.
 Εἰσίων [Δ]ιογένους [Μ]ιλήσιος, *Rom.* 138.1.
 Ἑκαταῖος (Ῥαμνούσιος), father of Πυθίων, I B.C. 73.2.
 Ελ[--], *inc.* 193.2.
 Ἑλλάς Ἑρμογένου Ἀλεξανδρίτης, *Rom.* 100.1.
 Ἑλπίας, IV B.C. 227.
 Ἑλπίς, wife of Φιλέρως, *inc.* 228.1.
 Ἑπ[--] (Περ[--]), father of Καλ[--], *Rom.* 164.2.
 Ἑπαγαθὸς Ληναῖδος Μειλησία, II A.D. 139.1.
 Ἑπαίνετος I (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of Δημήτριος and (probably) Δημαίνετος, *post med.* IV B.C. 19.2.
 Ἑπαίνετος II Δημαίνετου Ἀχαρνεύς, *post. med.* IV B.C. 19.4.
 Ἑπαμείνων Προβ[α]λίσ[ι]ος, father of Θεόμνησ[τος], *post. med.* IV B.C. 71.2.
 Ἑπίκτητος, III-II B.C. 229.
 Ἑπίλυκος [Αἰ]γυλιεύς, father of Δημοφίλη, II-I B.C. 6.2.
 Ἑράτων (Μελιτεύς), father of Ἀφροδείσιος, *inc.* 54.2.
 Ἑρμαῖος (Μιλήσιος), father of Ἀπάτη, I-II A.D. 134.2.
 Ἑρμαῖος I, father of Ἑρμαῖος II, *inc.* 230.2.
 Ἑρμαῖος II Ἑρμαίου I, *inc.* 230.1.

- Ἑρμη[--], IV-III B.C. 90.2.
 Ἑρμίας Σελγεύς, husband of Νίκη Δημητρίου Ἀπάμισσα, *late Hell.* 111.3.
 Ἑρμίας, *inc.* 231.
 Ἑρμογένης Τελεσίου Ἀλιμούσιος, *inc.* 12.1 f.
 Ἑρμογένης (Ἀλεξανδρεύς), father of Ἑλλάς, *Rom.* 100.2.
 Ἑρμων (Θεσπιεύς), father of Θοινάρχη, *inc.* 122.2.
 Ἑρως Ζωπύρου, *Imp.* 232.1.
 Ἑρώτιν, *Imp.* 232.3.
 Ἑρτιαῖος (Κιανός), father of Σανγάριος, III B.C. 127.
 Εὐ[--] (?), *inc.* 276 (not certainly a name).
 Εὐάνδρις Ἀριστοδήμου Σαλαμινία, *post med.* II B.C. 152.1.
 Εὐδαιμοκράτης Εὐθυκλέους Λανπτρεύς, II B.C. 47.1.
 Εὐδοξος Δημεινέτου Κυδαθηναεύς, IV B.C. 42.1.
 Εὐδωρος, III A.D. 233.1.
 Εὐθεσίων Παλληνεύς, *ca.* 380 B.C. 64.
 Εὐθυδίκη Πασικλοῦ Νι[--], *inc.* 150.1.
 Εὐθυκλῆς (Λανπτρεύς), father of Εὐδαιμοκράτης, II B.C. 47.2.
 Εὐκαίρος, I-II A.D. 234.1.
 Εὐκλε[--], *inc.* 235.1.
 Εὐκλῆς ἐξ Οὔου, IV B.C. 61.1.
 Εὐκολίνη, *inc.* 236.
 Εὐκτίμενος Ὀρσιμένο[υ]ς I Παιανιεύς, father of Ὀρσιμένης II, *med.* IV B.C. 62.
 Εὐμηλος Ο<ι>ναῖος, husband of Σίμον, *inc.* 60.2.
 Εὐνομία Εὐνόμου, IV/III B.C. 237.1.
 Εὐνο[μο]ς Δημητρίου Ἀνκυρανός, (?) II-I B.C. 93.1.
 Εὐνομος, father of Εὐνομία, IV/III B.C. 237.2.
 Εὔξενος Εὐφορίωνος Κυρηναῖος, I-II A.D. 129.1.
 [Ε]ὐπορος ([Μι]λήσιος), father of [--]νίκη, III A.D. 140.2.
 Εὐπορος, father of Σώφρων, *Imp.* 281.
 Εὐριπ(π)ίδης Μυρρινούσιος, father of Καλλιστομάχη, IV B.C. 57.1.
 Ε[ὐ]στράτη Πείθω[νος] Φυλασίου, *post med.* IV B.C. 19.5.
 Εὐτέλης, father of Ζώπυρος, *ante med.* IV B.C. 241.2.
 Εὐφ[--], IV B.C. 284.
 Εὐφορίων (Κυρηναῖος), father of Εὔξενος, I-II A.D. 129.2.
 Εὐφραντᾶς (Μιλήσιος), father of Ζωπύρα, *Imp.* 141.
 Εὐφρόνιος, IV B.C. 238.
 Εὐφροσύνη Βίθους Α[ἰ]νί[ου], wife of Ἀρτε[μ]ίδωρος Ἀγκυρανός, *inc.* 97.1.
 Εὐφροσύνη Συβα[ρ]ίτις (?), III B.C. 156.
 Ἑφέσιος, IV B.C. 239.

 Ζωπύρα Εὐφραντᾶ [Μι]λησιά, *Imp.* 141.
 Ζώπυρος Δημοστράτου Παλληνεύς, II-I B.C. 65.1.
 Ζώπυρος, father of Ἑρως, *Imp.* 232.2.
 Ζώπυρος Εὐτέλος, *ante med.* IV B.C. 241.2.
 Ζώπυρος, II-III A.D. 240.

 Ἡδεῖα Ἀρταξίου Ἀντιόχισσα, II-I B.C. 107.1.
 Ἡδύλη, wife of Λεοντίσκος, *inc.* 242.1.
 Ἡλιόδωρος (Ἀντιοχεύς), father of Νίκη, I-II A.D. 108.2.
 Ἡρακλ[--], *inc.* 243.
 Ἡρακλε[ίδ]ης I (Μιλήσιο[ς]), father of (Ἡρακλεΐδη[ς] II, *Imp.* 142.2.
 Ἡρακλεΐδη[ς] II Ἡρακλε[ίδ]ου I Μιλήσιο[ς], *Imp.* 142.1.

- Ἡρακλέδωρος, father of Σωκλεία, II B.C. 4.2.
 Ἡρακλέων Ἀντιπάτρου Μειλήσιος, *inc.* 143.1.
 Ἡρακλέων Παραμόνου Μ[ε]λήσιος, *Rom.* 136.3.
 Ἡρα[κλει..]ς, *inc.* 244.1.
 Ἡρότιμος (Μεγαρεύς), father of Θεοξενίς, III B.C. 131.2.
 Γάσιος Πάπιος Ἡφαιστίων, *Rom.* 245.
- ΘΑΙ Μηνοφίλο[υ] Ἀνκυρανή, *Hell.* 95.1.
 Θάλλιον, *ca. med.* IV B.C. 246.
 Θε[--] Κυδαθηναί[ε]υς, *inc.* 43.3.
 Θε[--], II A.D. 226.
 Θέμυ[λλος] I (᾽Οῆθεν), father of Θέμυλλος II, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.1.
 Θέμυλλος II Θεμύ[λλο] I ᾽Οῆθεν, husband of Ναυσιστράτη Λυκίσκο Ὑβάδο, father of Ἀντιφάνης, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.1,3.
 Θέμων Ἀντιφάνους ᾽Οῆθεν, husband of Κλεοπασίς Κλεοχάρ[ους] Ἀγ]γελῆθεν, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.5.
 Θεο[--], *inc.* 247.
 Θεογένης (Μιλήσιος), father of Φιλωτέρα, *inc.* 146.1.
 Θεοδ[-] Θεοπ[-] Τρικ[ορύσιος], V/IV B.C. 80.1.
 Θεόδωρος Μά[ρω]νος, husband of [Ἀ]πάτη Μοσχίου Μιλησία, I B.C. / I A.D. 135.3.
 Θεοκλῆς (Ἰφιστιάδης), father of Ἀπολλόδωρος, *inc.* 33.1.
 Θεόλλος Φηγαιεύς, *ante med.* IV B.C. 83.
 Θέομνη[τος] Ἐπαμεινον[ος] Προ[βα]λίστι[ος], *post. med.* II B.C. 71.1.
 Θεοξενίς Ἡροτίμου Μεγαρική, III B.C. 131.1.
 Θεοπ[-] (Τρικ[ορύσιος]), father of Θεοδ[-], V/IV 80.2.
 Θεόφιλος I (Ἀλαιεύς), father of Θεόφιλος II, *inc.* 9.2.
 Θεόφιλος II Θεοφίλου I Ἀλαιεύς, *inc.* 9.1.
 Θεόφιλος Κικυννεύς, husband of Καλλιόπη Μιλησία, II A.D. 37.2.
 Θεσμοθετία Ἀγινίου Πειραιώς, *ca.* II B.C. 67.
 Θέων I ([Π]αιανιεύς), father of Θέω[ν] II, I B.C. - I A.D. 63.2.
 Θέω[ν] II Θέωνος I ([Π]αιανιεύς, I B.C. - I A.D. 63.1.
 Θήρων Εἰρηναίου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, I B.C. - I A.D. 101.1.
 Οἰνάρχη Ἑρμῶνος Θεσπική, *inc.* 122.1.
 Θράσων Χολαργεύς, *inc.* 88.2.
- Ἰάσων (Εἰρεσίδης), father of Ἰπύλ[λος] and Λυσιππίδ[ης], IV B.C. 24.2,5.
 Ἰερόδοτος (Μῆδος), father of Ἀφροδισία, I A.D. 133.2.
 Ἰεροκλῆς I (Ἀλαιεύς), father of Ἰέρων, *ca.* 375/360 10.2.
 Ἰεροκλῆς II (Ἰέρωνος Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 375/360 10.5.
 Ἰεροκλῆς (?[Ἀλαιεύς]), father of Καινεύς, *ca.* 375/350 249.
 Ἰεροκλῆς Ἰέρωνος I Γαργήτιος, father of Ἰέρων II, IV B.C. 23.1,2.
 Ἰέρων Ἰεροκλ[έ]ος I Ἀλαιεύς, father of Ἰεροκλῆς II, *ca.* 375/350 B.C. 10.1.
 Ἰέρων I (Γαργήτιος), father of Ἰεροκλῆς, IV B.C. 23.1.
 Ἰέρων II Ἰεροκλέους Γαργήτιος, IV B.C. 23.2.
 Ἰθάκη, wife of Βάκχιος Αἰ[ξ]ωνεύς, *med.* I B.C. 7.1.
 Ἰπ[--], *late Hell.* 248.1.
 Ἰπποστράτη Πανσέο, probably wife of Ἀντιγένης Νικίο Τειθράσιος, *ca.* 370 B.C. 79.
 Ἰπύλ[λος] Ἰάσον[ος] Εἰρεσίδ[ης], IV B.C. 24.1.
 Ἰσιδώρα Διονυσίου Ἡρακλειωτῆς, *inc.* 116.1.

Κ[--], *Rom.* 291.2

Κα[ικιλι-], *Rom.* 251.2.

- Καινεὺς Ἱεροκλέους (Ἰ[Ἀλαιοῦς]), *ca.* 375/350 B.C. 249.
 Καλ[-] Ἐπ[-] Περ[-], *Rom.* 164.1.
 [Κ]αλλι[-], (?) IV B.C. 289.2.
 Καλλίας (Βατήθεν), father of Ἀβρων, *ca. med.* II B.C. 22.2.
 Καλλίμαχος Μελιτεὺς, father of Πλαθάνη, IV B.C. 56.1.
 Καλλιόπη Μιλησία, wife of Θεόφιλος Κικυννεὺς, II A.D. 37.1.
 Καλλίπη Φιλιστίδου Ἐλευσινίου, wife of Δαμέδων, III B.C. 26.1.
 Καλλιπ<π>η, *ante med.* IV B.C. 250.
 Καλλιστομάχη Εὐριπ[π]ίδου Μυρρινουσίου, IV B.C. 57.1.
 Καλλίστρατος Πολυκλείδου Ἐρχιεύς, *post. med.* IV B.C. 29.1.
 Κα<λλ>ίστρατος Ἐρχιεύς, father of Φίλη, IV B.C. 30.1.
 Καλλιστῶ Μενάνδρου Ἰωνίδου, wife of Ἀπολλωνίδης Περιθοίδης, *inc.* 34.1.
 [Καλ]ιστῶ Λεύκο Κικυννέως, IV B.C. 38.1.
 [Κα]λλιστῶ Ἀριστ[-] [Λευ]κονοῶς, *ante med.* IV B.C. 51.1.
 Κηφισόδωρος (Φηγαιεύς), father of Ἀντιφάτης, IV B.C. 82.
 Κηφισόδωρος, IV B.C. 283.3.
 Κλείππος Ἀλεξάρχου Ἀχαρνέως, II-I B.C. 20.1.
 Κλειτόπολις, IV B.C. 265.
 Κλεοπασις Κλεοχάρους Ἀγγεληθεν, wife of Θέμων Ἀντιφάνους Ὁῆθεν, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.6.
 Κλέφαντος Ἀγησιστράτου Ἐπικηφίσιος, IV-III B.C. 27.1.
 Κλεοχάρης [Ἀγγεληθεν, father of Κλεοπασίς, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.6.
 Κλεῶ Κλέωνος Κηφισιεύς, wife of Εὐφραῖος, *inc.* 35.1.
 Κλέων (Κηφισιεύς), father of Κλεῶ, *inc.* 35.2.
 Κλέων, father of Μενεκράτης, *Rom.* 207.2.
 Κο[-], *inc.* 200.2.
 Κοί[ντος-], *Rom.* 251.1.
 Κονω[-], IV-III B.C. 279.3.
 Κορυφῶ Θεσπικά, (?) IV B.C. 123.
 Κράτων (Ἀχαρνέως), father of Νικανδρος, III B.C. 21.2.
 Κρο[-] (?), *Hell.* 252.
 Κτησ[-], IV-III B.C. 90.6.

- Λ[-] (?), *late Hell.* 209.3 (not certainly a name).
 Λα[-], *Rom.* 253.1.
 Λάδων Χαρείου Βειθυνός, III A.D. 113.1.
 Λαιλία Ῥωμαία, wife of Πύρρος Νεαπολίτης, *Rom.* 149.1.
 Λάκων I, father of Ἀπολλόδωρος and Λάκων II, *ca.* 400 B.C. 202.2,4.
 Λάκων II Λάκωνος I, *ca.* 400 B.C. 202.3.
 Λάστρατος Φιλωνίδου Λακιάδης, II A.D. 45.1.
 Λε[-], *Rom.* 293.2.
 Λεοντίσκος, husband of Ἡδύλη, *inc.* 242.2.
 Λεύκος Κικυννεὺς, father of [Καλ]ιστῶ, IV B.C. 38.1.
 Λη[-], *Rom.* 253.2.
 Ληναῖς Ἀττάλου Ἡρακλεῶτις, II-I B.C. 117.1.
 Ληναῖς Μελισία, mother of Ἐπαγαθῶ, II A.D. 139.2.
 Ληναῖος, *Rom.* 165.
 Λυκίδας (Μεγαρεὺς), father of Σαμιάς, II-I B.C. 132.2.
 Λυκίσκος Ὑβάδης, father of Ναυσιστράτη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.2.
 Λυκίσκος Μιλήσιος, I B.C. - I A.D. 144.
 Λυσυπιδής [ς] Ἰάσονος Εἰρεσίδης, IV B.C. 24.4.
 Λύσιππος (Ἀγρυλῆθεν), father of Ἀσώπιος, *med.* IV B.C. 2.3.

Λύσις Ἀσωπίου Ἀγρυλῆθεν, *med.* IV B.C. 2.1.

Μα[--], *inc.* 271.2.

Μᾶ Διονυσίου <Σ>ινωπίτις, *ante med.* II A.D. 155.1.

Μαρσύας Ἡρακλεώτης, IV/III B.C. 118.

Μά[ρω]ν, father of Θεόδωρος, I B.C. - I A.D. 135.4.

Ματ[-], *inc.* 193.3.

Μάτιον Μηνοφίλου Ἀκυρανή, I-II A.D. 94.1.

Με[-] (?), *Hell.* 216.3 (not certainly a name).

Μελ[-], *inc.* 254.1.

Μέλας Διοδώρου Σιδώνιος, II-I B.C. 153.1.

Μέλῃος Ἀγγελῆθεν, father of Ἀρχεστράτη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.7.

Μελίτω[ν], *Imp.* 258.

Μένανδρος Ἰωνίδης, father of Καλλιστώ, *inc.* 34.2.

Μένανδρος Φιλωνίδου Φιλα[ίδ]ης, *inc.* 86.1.

Μενεκράτης Δαιμένου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, *inc.* 58.2.

Μενεκράτης, father of Κλέων, *Rom.* 207.2.

Μην[-], *inc.* 255.1.

Μηνόφιλος (Ἀκυρανός), father of Μάτιον, I-II A.D. 94.2.

Μηνόφιλος (Ἀκυρανός), father of ΘΑΙ, *Hell.* 95.2.

Μηνόφιλος (Ἡρακλεώτης), father of Πόα, I B.C. - I A.D. 119.2.

Μητρ[-], *inc.* 235.2.

[Μ]ητρίς, IV-III B.C. 256.1.

Μικυ[-], *inc.* 257.

Μιλησία, *Imp.* 258.

Μνησαρέτη Χαρικλέους, IV B.C. 82.

Μνησίλλα, IV B.C. 259.

Μνησιπτόλεμος, *ante med.* IV B.C. 250.

Μόσχιον Φαλάνθου Ἀλαιέως, *inc.* 11.1.

Μόσχιος (Μιλήσιος), father of [Α]πάτη, I B.C. - I A.D. 135.1.

Μοσχίων Μόσχου Πιθεύς, *inc.* 68.1.

Μόσχος (Πιθεύς), father of Μοσχίων, *inc.* 68.2.

Μύρτη, V/IV B.C. 69.1.

Μυρωνί[δης] (?), *inc.* 260.

Ν[-], *late Hell.* 225.2.

Ναυσιστράτη Λυκίσκο Ὑβάδο, wife of Θέμυλλος II Θεμύ[λλο] I Ὀῆθεν, *ante med.* IV B.C. 59.2.

Ν[α]υσιτέλης Κονθυλῆθεν, father of Παναγόρα, *post med.* IV B.C. 39.1.

Νεοκλῆς, father of Νικοβούλη, IV B.C. 82.

Νεοπτολέμη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 250.

Νέων (Ἀθμονεύς), father of Ἀγαθίων, II-III A.D. 3.2.

Νικ[-] Δη[-] Ἀχ[-], *inc.* 163.1.

Νίκαιος Κολλυτεύς, father of Πρωτομάχη, *med.* IV B.C. 62.

Νίκανδρος Κράτωνος Ἀχαρνεύς, III B.C. 21.1.

Νίκανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δαμασκηνός, *Rom.* 114.1.

Νίκη Ἡλιοδώρου Ἀντιόχισσα, I-II A.D. 108.1.

Νίκη Δημητρίου Ἀπάμισσα, wife of Ἑρμίας Σελεγεύς, *late Hell.* 111.1.

Νίκη (?), *Rom.* 261.

Νικηφόρος Δημητρίου Ἀντιοχεύς, *inc.* 109.1.

[Νι]κηφόρος, II-III A.D. 262.

Νικίας Κυδαθηναεύς, *inc.* 44.1.

Νικίας (Τειθράσιος), father of Ἀντιγένης, *ca.* 370 B.C. 79.

Νικίας ἰσοτέλης, IV B.C. 91.

Νικο[-], *Rom.* 218.2.

Νικοβούλη Νεοκλέους, IV B.C. 82.

Ξενώ, *inc.* 263.

Ξένων Ἀδειμάντου Στειριεύς, *inc.* 74.1.

Ο[-], *inc.* 264.1.

Οἰκοτέλης II (? [Γεισίου] II) (Λαμπρεύς), father of Τιμαρέτη and Γεισίας III, IV B.C. 32.5 (see No. 32 for family stemma).

Οἰνόφιλος Συνδρόμου Στειριεύς, *Rom.* 75.

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος I Στειριεύς, II A.D. 76(a).

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος II Ἀπολλωνίου Στειριεύς, II A.D. 76(b).1.

Ὀρσιμένης I (Παιανιεύς), father of Εὐκτίμενος, *med.* IV B.C. 62.

Ὀρσιμένης II Εὐκτιμένο Παιανιεύς, *med.* IV B.C. 62.

Πα[-] (?), *Rom.* 293.3 (not certainly a name).

Παμ[-], *inc.* 255.2.

Πάμφιλος Πολυζένου Ἀπολλωνιεύς, *Rom.* 14.1.

Πάμφιλος, IV B.C. 265.

Παναγόρα Ν[α]ρσιτέλου Κονθυλήθεν, wife of Προμηθίδης Ἐλευσίνιος, *post. med.* IV B.C. 39.1.

Πανταρίστη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 267.

Πάραλος Πausανίου Λαμπρεύς, IV B.C. 48.1.

Παράμονος (Μ[ε]ιλήσιος), father of Ἡρακλέων, *Rom.* 136.2.

Πασικλῆς (Νι[-]), father of Εὐθυδίκη, *inc.* 150.2.

Πausανίας (Λαμπρεύς), father of Πάραλος, IV B.C. 48.2.

Πausανίας, husband of Φαινίπη, father of Πausιμάχη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 266.3.

Πausέας, father of Ἱπποστράτη, *ca.* 370 B.C. 79.

Πausιμάχη Πausανίου, *ante med.* IV B.C. 266.2.

Πειθ[ω] Φυλάσιος, father of Ε[ϋ]στράτη, *post med.* IV B.C. 19.6.

Πενταρίστη, *ante med.* IV B.C. 267.

Περικλῆς, II A.D. 268.3.

Πλαθάνη Καλλιμάχου Μελιτέως, IV B.C. 56.1.

Πόα Μηνοφίλου Ἡρακλεῶτις, I B.C. - I A.D. 119.1.

Πολυκλείδης (Ἐρχιεύς), father of Καλλίστρατος, *post med.* IV B.C. 29.1.

Πολυκλείδης Ἀρτεμιδώρου, *inc.* 269.1.

Πολυκλῆς Φηγαίεύς, IV B.C. 84.

Πολυζένος (Ἀπολλωνιεύς), father of Πάμφιλος, *Rom.* 14.2.

[Π]ολυπ[-], *inc.* 197.2.

Πορφυ[-], IV B.C. 270.

Πραξιμένης Πυθομένου [Ῥ]α[μ]νού[σ]ιος, (?) IV B.C. 72.1.

Προμηθίδης Ἐλευσίνιος, husband of Παναγόρα Ν[α]ρσιτέλου Κονθυλήθεν, *post. med.* IV B.C. 39.3.

Πρύτανις (Κυδωνιάτης), father of Τεμώ, *ca.* I B.C. 128.

Πρωτομάχη Νικαῖο Κολλυτέως, probably wife of Εὐκτίμενος Ὀρσιμένο[υ]ς I Παιανιεύς, *med.* IV B.C. 62.

[Π]υθαγγελος [Π]υθοδῶρου Φηγαίεύς, *post med.* IV B.C. 85.1.

Πυθίων Ἐκαταῖον Ῥαμνούσιος, I B.C. 73.1.

Πυθογένεια Ἀντιδῶρου Πλωθείως, V/IV B.C. 69.2.

[Π]υθοδωρος (Φηγαίεύς), father of [Π]υθαγγελος, *post. med.* IV B.C. 85.2.

Πυθομένης ([Ῥ]α[μ]νού[σ]ιος), father of Πραξιμένης, (?) IV B.C. 72.2.

Πύρρος Νεαπολίτης, husband of Λαιλία Ῥωμαία, *Rom.* 149.3.

Πω[-], *inc.* 271.1.

Πωλλί<ω>ν (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of Αὔλιος, *Rom.* 18.2.

Σ[-], *Hell.* 214.2.

Σαμιάς Λυκίδου Μεγαρική, II-I B.C. 132.1.

Σανγάριος Ἑστιαίου Κιανός, III B.C. 127.

Σαώ, *inc.* 272.

Σε[-], *late Hell.* 209.2.

Σεραπίων, (?) II-III A.D. 273.3.

Σεύθης (Μαρωνίτης), father of Ἀφροδίσιος, *inc.* 130.3.

Σιμαῖθα, *inc.* 194.3.

Σῖμον, wife of Εὐμηλος Ο<ι>ναῖος, *inc.* 60.1.

Σμίκυθος, *post med.* IV B.C. 274.1.

Σολ[-], IV-III B.C. 279.2.

Σοφοκλῆς (Μειλήσιος), father of Φοίβη, I-II A.D. 147.2.

Στ[-], *inc.* 275.3.

Στ[-], *inc.* 276.1

Στέφανος (Αἴνιος), father of Στράτεια, IV B.C. 98.2.

Στράτεια Στεφάνου Αἰνία, IV B.C. 98.1.

Συμ[-], *inc.* 277.

Σύνδρομος (Στεριεύς), father of Οἰνόφιλος, *Rom.* 75.

Σύρος, ca. 317 B.C. 278.

Σωκλεία Ἑρακλεοδώρου, wife of Τιμοκλῆς Ἀθμονεύς, II B.C. 4.1.

Σωσ[-] [ἐξ Ε]ὑπυριδ[ῶν], father of [-]ια, *Imp.* 31.1.

Σωσ[-], IV-III B.C. 279.1.

[Σ]ωσίβ[ιος] Εἰλειεύς, I B.C. - I A.D. 124.2.

Σώσιππος Σωσιστράτου Ἀτηνεύς, *Rom.* 15.1.

Σωσιστρατος (Ἀτηνεύς), father of Σώσιππος, *Rom.* 15.2.

Σωστράτη, *inc.* 194.2.

Σωστράτη Φανιάδου, *inc.* 280.1.

Σώστρατος Ἀντιμάχ[ου] Σφήττιος, *post med.* IV B.C. 78.1.

Σώτιρα Διονυσίου Μιλησία, II-III A.D. 145.1.

Σώφρων Εὐπόρου, *Imp.* 281.

Τ[-], *inc.* 208.2.

Τ[-], *inc.* 282.3.

Τεισαρχίδης, IV B.C. 283.1.

Τείσαρχος, IV B.C. 284.

[Τ]εισικράτεια [Α]λκιμάχου Ἀγγελῆθεν, wife of Χαριάδης [Χ]αιρεφάνους I Ἀθμονεύς, mother of [Χ]αιρεφάνης II and Χαιρέστρατος, *post med.* IV B.C. 5.5.

Τελεσίας (Ἀλμούσιος), father of Ἑρμογένης, *inc.* 12.2f.

Τελέστης I, father of Τελέστης II, *inc.* 285.

Τελέστης II Τελέστου I, *inc.* 285.

Τελετή Ε[-] [ἐκ---]έων, II-III A.D. 166.

Τεμῶ Πρυτάνιδος Κυδωνιάτις, ca. I B.C. 128.

Τίμιαιος (Α[α]μπτρέυς), father of [-]ι[-]αγόρας, II B.C. 49.2.

Τιμαρέτη Οικότλος [Λαμπτρέως], wife of Ἀμοίβιχος III Γοργύθο[υ] (Λαμπτρέυς), IV B.C. 32.5.

Τιμαρέτη, IV B.C. 286.

Τιμοκλῆς Ἀθμονεύς, husband of Σωκλεία Ἑρακλεοδώρου, II B.C. 4.4.

- Τιμοφάνης Ἐλευσίνιος, father of Ἀθηναίς, *inc.* 25.2.
 Τρυφ[-] (Φυλάσιος), father of [-]ογένης, II-III A.D. 87.
- Φ[-], *inc.* 287.
 Φαινίπη, wife of Πausανίας, *ante med.* IV B.C. 266.3.
 Φαινίπη, *inc.* 288.
 Φάλανθος Ἀλαιεύς, father of Μόσχιον, *inc.* 11.2.
 Φανιάδης, father of Σωστράτη, *inc.* 280.2.
 [Φ]ανοκ[-], (?) IV B.C. 289.1.
 Φανοστράτη, IV B.C. 290.
 Φιλ[-], *Rom.* 291.1.
 Φιλ[-], *Rom.* 293.1.
 Φίλα Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀντιόχισσα, *inc.* 110.1.
 Φιλέρως, husband of Ἑλπίς, *inc.* 228.2.
 Φίλη Κα<λλ>ιστράτου Ἐρχιέως, IV B.C. 30.1.
 Φιληκώ, IV B.C. 283.2.
 Φιλήμων Βάσου, III A.D. 292.1.
 Φιλίστα Ἀθηνοδώρου Αἰζωνέως, III B.C. 8.1.
 Φιλιστίδης Ἐλευσίνιος, father of Καλλίπη, III B.C. 26.2.
 Φίλιστος Ἀριστομάχου Συναλήτιος, *inc.* 77.1..
 Φιλοκήδης I Ἀμοιβί[χου] I [Λαμπρέυς], husband of [-^c.⁴.]ὸ Ἀρεσίου I Θορ[-], father of Ἀρεσίας II (Λαμπρέυς) and Ἀμοιβίχος II (Λαμπρέυς), IV B.C. 32.2,3,6.
 Φιλοκήδης[ς] II Ἀμοιβί[χου] II [Λαμπρέυς], IV B.C. 32.8.
 [Φ]ιλόμηλος, *inc.* 294.1.
 Φιλουμένη, wife of [Δ]ιογένης [-^c.⁴.]σιος, *post med.* IV B.C. 167.1.
 Φιλωνίδης (Λακιάδης), father of Λάστρατος, II A.D. 45.2.
 Φιλωνίδης (Φιλα[ιδ]ής), father of Μένανδρος, *inc.* 86.2.
 Φιλωτέρα Θεογένου Μιλησία, *inc.* 146.1.
 Φλ(αούιος) [-], *Rom.* 295.
 Φοίβη Σοφοκλέους Μειλησία, I-II A.D. 147.1.
- Χαιρέστρατος Χαριάδου Ἀθμονεύς, *post. med.* IV B.C. 5.11.
 [Χ]αιρεφάνης I (Ἀθμονεύς), father of Χαριάδης, *post. med.* IV B.C. 5.2.
 [Χ]αιρεφάνης II [Χ]αριάδου Ἀθμονεύς, *post. med.* IV B.C. 5.7.
 Χαρείας (Βειθυνός), father of Λάδων, III A.D. 113.3.
 Χαριάδης [Χ]αιρεφάνους I Ἀθμονεύς, husband of [Τ]εισικράτεια [Α]λκιμάχου Ἀγγε-
 λῆθεν, father of [Χ]αιρεφάνης II and Χαιρέστρατος, *post med.* IV B.C. 5.1,8,12.
 Χαρίας, IV B.C. 286.
 Χαρικλῆς, father of Μνησαρέτη, IV B.C. 82.
 Χαροιάδης, IV B.C. 259.
- [-]δίκη [-]μέν[ου]ς (?) [Α]κυ[ραν]ή, wife of Γλαυ[κ-] Παλληνεύς, *inc.* 96.1.
 [-]έλιος, *Imp.* 210.
 [-]η [-]ξένου [Ῥ]ωπία, II-I B.C. 157.1.
 [-]ης [Ἡ]ρακλ[ειώ]της, IV-III B.C. 120.
 [-]ία, *Rom.* 220.2.
 [-]ία, wife of Φλ(αούιος) [-], *Rom.* 295.
 [-]ία Σωσ[-] [ἐξ Ε]ϋπυριδ[ῶν], *Imp.* 31.1.
 [-^c.³.]ΙΑΛΛΟΥ (gen.) (Ἀντιοχεύς), father of Βερενίκη, *inc.* 105.1.
 [-]ιδώρα [Ἀ]λεξάνδ[ρου], III A.D. 198.1.
 [-]ιου (gen.) (Ἡρακλεώτης), II B.C. 121.
 [-]ι[-]αγόρα[ς] Τι[μ]αίου Λα[μ]πρέυς, II B.C. 49.1.

- [-]μέν[η]ς (? [Ἀγκυ]ρανός), father of [-]δίκη, *inc.* 96.2.
 [-]μων ([Μιλ]ήσιος), father of [-]νίκη, II-I B.C. 148.2.
 [-]ν ῥαμνούσιος, husband of [-] Νικίου Κυδαθηναίως, *inc.* 44.2.
 [-]νίκη [-]μωνος [Μιλ]ησία, II-I B.C. 148.1.
 [-]νίκη [Ε]ὐπόρου [Μι]λησία, III A.D. 140.1.
 [-]ξενος ([ῶρ]ώπιος), father of [-]η, II-I B.C. 157.1.
 [-]ογένης Τρυφ[-] Φυλάσιος, II-III A.D. 87.
 [-]ος, IV B.C. 284.
 [-]όστρατος, IV B.C. 205.
 [-]ου (*gen.*) (Αγ[-]), father of [Ε]ἰρήνη, *inc.* 162.2.
 [-]ρος, *inc.* 277.
 [-]ς Ἐρικε[εύς], *Rom.* 28.1.
 [-]ς, III A.D. 233.2.
 [-]τος (*gen.*) (Καρύστιος), *late Hell.* 126.2.
 [-]χη [ῶλ]υνθία, (?) IV B.C. 151.
 [..⁴..]ὸ Ἀρεσίου I Θορ[-], wife of Φιλοκήδης I Ἀμοιβί[χου] I [Λαμπρεύς], mother of Ἀρεσίας II (Λαμπρεύς) and Ἀμοιβίχος II (Λαμπρεύς), IV B.C. 32.1.
 [-]αντου[-], father of [-]ρ[-], *inc.* 43.2.
 [-]ιονδ[-], *Rom.* 28.3.
 [-]οκτητ[-], *Rom.* 28.2.
 [-]ρ[-], daughter of [-]αντου[-], probably wife of Θε[-] Κυδαθηναίως, *inc.* 43.1.

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A PTOLEMAIC ODYSSEY PAPYRUS IN LOUVAIN

(*P. Leuven* 1987.01: κ185-195)*

The papyrus published here was discovered in 1987 by W. Clarysse in the small papyrus collection of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (K.U.L.)¹ as a then unidentified scrap of unknown provenance. Although the fragment, which was folded in two, looked rather insignificant, he suspected it was part of a literary text and kindly entrusted me with its examination and ultimate publication. I soon found that it contained some verses of the tenth book of the *Odyssey*, and the subsequent unfolding of the scrap revealed remnants of ten verses (κ185-195, with v. 192 missing). The early date of the papyrus and its significance for the textual criticism of this passage (to which I will return below), made a separate publication desirable.

Before describing the papyrus, I will briefly sketch its place within the present body of Odyssean papyri, especially those of book κ. The fragment clearly comes from a canto that was quite popular in antiquity, as it is already the nineteenth papyrus of the tenth book to be published, which is more than the average number of papyri available for an Odyssean book. Still, even with the publication of the present papyrus the papyrological evidence now supplies only some 277 of the 574 hexameters of the entire canto. Verses κ185-187 are not preserved in any other papyrus, whereas κ188-195 have just recently been dis-

* I am grateful to W. Clarysse for allowing me to publish this papyrus and for his helpful suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge my particular debt to A. Wouters, whose papyrological and palaeographical experience has saved me from many errors, and without whose judicious advice this paper would never have become full-grown. Any flaws that remain are to be considered my own.

¹ One part of this collection was purchased in Egypt by L.-Th. Lefort in the years before and shortly after the second world war; another part was later obtained by R. De Langhe during an expedition to the Dead Sea. It has proved impossible to ascertain to which part of the collection this one fragment originally belonged. However, the De Langhe fund consists exclusively of fragments from Byzantine and Arabic times, so it would be almost incredible were the papyrus, which dates from the Ptolemaic era (see below), to belong to it. Most probably the Homer fragment was brought to Leuven by Lefort, together with his Coptic texts and with another Ptolemaic Homer papyrus which was later named after him (*P. Lefort* = Pack² 1145) by its editor: W. LAMÉRE, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique. A propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain* (Scriptorium. Publications, 4), Paris-Bruxelles 1960, p. 15-53 with pl. 1. See further on this papyrus p. 63 below with n. 6.

covered in *P. Bodmer 49*². More importantly, *P. Leuven 1987.01* is one of four Ptolemaic papyri of the tenth book; as early Ptolemaic or pre-Aristarchean³, however, are to be regarded only our Leuven papyrus together with *P. Sorb. inv. 2245* (Pack² 1081) and *P. Bodmer 49* just mentioned. Comparison with the latter papyrus will be of particular interest.

DESCRIPTION

The scrap measures 4.4 cm (height) by 4.7 cm (width). The writing runs along the fibres, the back is blank. There are no traces of cartonnage. The papyrus is broken off on all sides, but the narrow blank 5 mm strip below the last letter of the final line is almost certainly part of the bottom margin, the normal interlinear space being 3 or at most 4 mm. The scant blank space in front of the initial letters of the two last lines is all we have of the lateral margins. All that remains, then, are parts of ten verses of which only half contains more than five legible letters. As one can see on the photograph, the left upper corner has come almost completely loose from the rest of the fragment. Fibre correspondences prove that it truly belongs there, but that it has shifted almost 1 mm upwards, so that the lines seem to make a slight step down after the third letter.

The height of the letters varies between 1 to 1.5 mm (ω, σ, δ, ε) and 4 mm (ρ), the average height being 2 (e.g. τ) to 2.5 mm (e.g. ν, η). There is no trace of punctuation or accentuation. The handwriting is a fluent capital, with a marked tendency to ligature (esp. ε, η, μ with the following letters). At first sight, considering the suspension of the letters from an imaginary upper line and the contrast between big letters and rather small 'suspended' ones, one could be tempted to propose the

² Editio princeps: A. HURST, *Papyrus Bodmer 49: Odyssée 9,455-488 et 526-556; 10,188-215*, *MH* 43 (1986), p. 221-230. With the exception of this papyrus, all papyrological evidence for book κ is listed in R.A. PACK, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Ann Arbor 1965², p. 66; P. MERTENS, *Vingt années de papyrologie odysséenne*, *CE* 60 (1985), p. 197.

³ The term 'pre-Aristarchean' should not be misunderstood. I do not mean by this a text from before Aristarchos' philological activity on the Odyssey, but a text that has not yet adopted Aristarchos' "numerus versuum". Even an edition from the end of the second century B.C. can be 'pre-Aristarchean': cf. S. WEST, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (*Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Sonderreihe: *Papyrologica Coloniensia*, 3), Köln-Opladen 1967, p. 15-17.

third century B.C.⁴ On the other hand, the tendency to form ligatures argues against too early a date⁵. To establish a more or less reliable dating, close comparison with parallels is necessary.

Two interesting parallels are available within the restricted domain of Homeric, even Odyssean, palaeography: *P. Lefort* (Pack² 1145) (φ 1-21, 431-434, χ 1)⁶ and again *P. Bodmer* 49 (ι 455-488, 526-556, κ 188-215). The first is dated by its editor, after a painstaking analysis of the hand, to the middle or second half of the third century B.C. In his review, however, J. Bingen⁷ would not rule out the early second century B.C. The similarities with the hand of our papyrus are obvious: I note e.g. γ with a short vertical and a long horizontal stroke; ε, η, μ tending to have linking strokes with following letters; μ made in three movements and with a high but curved transversal bar; τ well-balanced, but with a vertical slightly curving leftwards at the bottom. But there are differences as well: the letters are considerably smaller in *P. Leuven* 1987.01 than in *P. Lefort*; α has a more cursive appearance and forms ligature with the letter that follows (compare γάρ in l. 6/κ 190 and l. 9/κ 194 with γάρ in φ 4); ε is less rounded; and on the whole the tendency to form ligatures is more pronounced.

The best parallel then is the hand of *P. Bodmer* 49. It is a surprising coincidence that such remarkably similar hands occur in two Homeric papyri containing the same book and having preserved partly the same verses. The size of the letters and the interlinear space in *P. Leuven* 1987.01 correspond exactly with the description by A. Hurst⁸. As to the resemblance of individual letters and letter groups, I note the following striking correspondences:

⁴ For these characteristics as typical of this period, cf. W. SCHUBART, *Paläographie I: Griechische Paläographie* (HdA I 4.1), München 1925, p. 19; G. CAVALLLO, *Fenomenologia libraria della maiuscola greca: stile, canone, mimesi grafica*, *BICS* 19 (1972), p. 132.

⁵ Such ligatures are not totally absent from book hands of the third century B.C., but are more common in the second century: cf. W. LAMEERE, *o.c.*, p. 12.

⁶ For the editio princeps, cf. p. 61 above with n. 1. The papyrus has been re-edited by S. WEST, *o.c.*, p. 277-281. For further bibliography see P. MERTENS, *o.c.*, p. 200.

⁷ In his review in *CE* 36 (1961), p. 216.

⁸ A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 222.

	<i>P. Leuven</i> 1987.01	<i>P. Bodmer</i> 49
— ηρ	l. 3/κ 187	ι 553
— εγων	l. 4/κ 188	ι 473
— ελ	l. 7/κ 191	ι 555
— τι	l. 8/κ 193	ι 549
— ετεσ	l. 8/κ 193	ι 555 (εσετ)
— νησ	l. 10/κ 195	ι 538

In fact, the hands are so similar that one would be tempted to attribute them to the same scribe⁹. But our scrap is too tiny — many letters are not represented at all — to allow us to propose this with any conviction.

P. Bodmer 49 was dated by Hurst¹⁰ to the late third or early second century B.C. But his dating was based on comparison with the above-mentioned and approximately dated *P. Lefort* and with *P. Sorb.* 2272b, a Menander papyrus dated on external evidence to the late third century B.C.¹¹; it was given by E.G. Turner, in his classification of Ptolemaic book hands¹², as an example of his “group E”, a type of writing appearing in the last half of the third century B.C. and also very influential in the second century B.C. So, even if both *P. Bodmer* 49 and *P. Leuven* 1987.01 are to be classified in Turner’s “group E” — which is in my opinion most reasonable — this is far from imposing a specific date. It is clear that the two I have parallels adduced, being themselves undated literary hands, are insufficient in this respect.

Therefore, as another parallel with the hand of our papyrus, I have chosen a datable document written in a bookish hand¹³: *P. Lond.* I 24 recto¹⁴, one of the Serapeum papyri from Memphis, written in 163 B.C.

⁹ It is impossible, however, that our scrap would be a part of the same roll of which *P. Bodmer* 49 is a fragment, as there is some slight overlapping in κ 190 and 194. Moreover, the division of the text over the columns was certainly different: κ 195, the last line of the column in *P. Leuven* 1987.01, occurs somewhere within a column in *P. Bodmer* 49.

¹⁰ A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 223.

¹¹ Cf. E.G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. by P.J. Parsons (*BICS*, Suppl. 46), London 1987, p. 74-75; with photograph (pl. 40) and bibliographical references.

¹² E.G. TURNER, *Ptolemaic Bookhands and Lille Stesichorus*, *S & C* 4 (1980), p. 19-40, esp. p. 31-32.

¹³ I follow here the procedure for dating a literary text as given by C.H. ROBERTS, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (*Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks*), Oxford 1956, p. xiii.

¹⁴ Cf. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue, with Texts*, vol. I, ed. by F.G. KENYON, London 1893, p. 30-33. For photographs and descriptions of the handwriting, cf. W. SCHUBART, *o.c.*, p. 34-36 with Abb. 12 (only ll. 8-14); R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri I. Urkunden*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 42 with Tafel 5 (only ll. 1-8).

According to W. Schubart, it was written by a person accustomed to write in a documentary hand, but trying here to give it the look of a book hand. Very similar to the hand of our papyrus is its tendency to form ligatures, with for example the linking strokes between ε, η and a following letter. I would like to draw attention too to the similarity of some letter combinations:

	<i>P. Leuven</i> 1987.01	<i>P. Lond.</i> I 24
— ησ	1. 10/κ 195	1. 8 (twice), 9, 10, 13
— ετεστ	1. 8/κ 193	1. 3: ετοστ, l. 12: εστ
— ελ	1. 7/κ 191	1. 7
— γαρ	1. 6/κ 190	1. 5: γαρ, l. 10: αρ
	1. 9/κ 194	

When one considers that the hand of the Serapeum papyrus is not an authentic book hand, the similarity is striking enough. And several other papyri from the Serapeum dating from the same years display a comparable writing style¹⁵. The conclusion of all this should be that our Homer fragment is to be dated to the last half of the third or first half of the second century B.C., but, in view of the last comparison, with a distinct preference for the latter alternative.

TRANSCRIPT¹⁶

κ 185	ημ[ος] δ [ηελιος κατεδυ και επι κνεφας ηλθε]	1
κ 186	δη τῳτ[ε κοιμηθημεν επι ρηγμινι θαλασσησ]	2
κ 187	ημος δ ηριγεν[εια φανη ροδοδακτυλος ηως]	3
κ 188	[κ]αι τοτ εγων α[γορην θεμενος μετα πασιν ειπον]	4
κ 189	[κεκλυτε] μευ μ[υθων κακα περ πασχοντες εταιροι]	5
κ 190	[ω φιλοι ου] γαρ [ιδμεν οπη ζοφος ουδ οπη ηως]	6
κ 191	[ου]δ ῳη[ι] ηελιο[ς] φαεσιμβροτος εισ υπο γαιαν]	7
κ 193	[ε]ι τις ετ εσται μη[τις εγω δ ουκ οιομαι ειναι]	8
κ 194	ειδον γαρ σκοπ[ιην ες παιπαλοεσσαν ανελθων]	9
κ 195	γησῳν [τ]ην π[ερι ποντος απειριτος εστεφανωται]	10

¹⁵ See for example the Leiden papyri in *Tabulae palaeographicae*, fasc. 1: *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels*, by E. BOSWINKEL & P.J. SUPESTEIJN, Amsterdam 1968, pl. 3-6.

¹⁶ The text used for the supplements is that of P. VON DER MÜHLL, *Homeri Odyssea* (Teubner), Stuttgart 1962³, p. 179.



P. Leuven 1987.01

COMMENTARY

1. 1-2/κ 185-186

Only some scant traces remain of the first letters of each line, but at least those of v. 186 seem to fit the transmitted text: δ, η and the second *tau* are more or less recognizable.

1. 3/κ 187

After a horizontal stroke, which could be a linking stroke of a preceding *eta*, one sees clearly a letter that looks like a large *pi* rather than the *mu* one expects. Maybe the scribe was somewhat careless here, as no alternative reading seems possible. But I would compare this *pi*-like *mu* with the μ in ημαρ in *P. Bodmer* 49, ι 556 (col. ii, bottom line).

1. 5/κ 189

The letters μενμ are distinct enough to assert that this papyrus included v. 189, probably in the form as we know it from the vulgate. This implies that the scholion H *ad locum* (Καλλίστρατός φησιν ὡς ὑπό τινος ὁ στίχος προτέτακται ἀγνοοῦντος τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν ἔθος, ὡς θέλει ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ γάρ) reflects either the personal opinion of Kallistratos or of his master Aristophanes, or even of Aristarchos, but certainly not the absence of the verse in the pre-Aristarchean tradition, as has been assumed by many philologists¹⁷. This had already been proved by the publication of *P. Bodmer* 49, which also contains the line¹⁸. Since no ancient or medieval manuscript is known in which the verse is missing, Aristarchos must have known it and cannot have omitted it. He may of course have marked the line with an ἀστερίσκος μετὰ ὀβελοῦ, as it is a διφορούμενος (cf. μ 271, 340), which would then

¹⁷ References to the philologists who thought this verse was not read by Aristophanes or Aristarchos in the manuscripts available to them will be found in M.J. APHORP, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Bibliothek der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, N.F. 2. Reihe, 71), Heidelberg 1980, p. 13 n. 27; add W. DINDORF in his edition of *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* I, Oxford 1855 (reprint Amsterdam 1962), p. 462.25. Aphorpe (*o.c.*, p. 8-9) and H.L. BARTH, *Die Fragmente aus den Schriften des Grammatikers Kallistratos zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee* (Edition mit Kommentar), diss. Bonn 1984, p. 258-259, had already argued that their interpretation of the scholion was wrong, although they could not substantiate their argument by referring to pre-Aristarchean papyri which contained the verse. But their lucid intuition is now confirmed.

¹⁸ Cf. A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 229.

provide the origin of Kallistratos' comment, but he may also have considered it authentic, differing from the view of Kallistratos¹⁹. Evidently, this does not prove the authenticity of the verse, but the objection transmitted by the scholion has been successfully refuted by M. J. Apthorp²⁰, the verse has been defended by M. Van der Valk²¹ on grounds of content, and every new papyrus confirming the unanimity of the mss. here is one more indication in favour of authenticity.

1. 7/κ 191-192

One can see the horizontal stroke of the δ, part of the ο and of the π, and a little dot which perhaps belongs to an η. I think enough space is left to insert a *iota adscriptum*, although there can be no certainty here²². Next, ελ is clearly visible, and the traces of the surrounding letters concord perfectly with ηελιος, so that this line must be v. 191, not v. 192 (οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται· ἀλλὰ φραζόμεθα θᾶσσον) which is introduced by the same words.

The omission of v. 192 is not paralleled in post-Aristarchean manuscripts and suppresses the syntactically indispensable introduction of the indirect question in v. 193. At first glance, then, v. 192 is not an interpolation accepted by the Alexandrians and therefore transmitted ever after; its absence is to be attributed simply to homioarctic haplography. However, the same verse is omitted in *P. Bodmer 49*²³ and this again supports the hypothesis of interpolation. A solution could be found by supplying v. 193b in an alternative way, providing a main clause or apodosis to the antecedent εἰ τις ἔτ' ἔσται μῆτις. Then, v. 192 could be considered an interpolation, due perhaps to a later corruption of v. 193 that let the εἰ-clause, as it were, without head. As the remnants of v. 193b in *P. Bodmer 49* (.... εμ[) do not square with the text of our manuscripts (ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι), it is tempting to suppose that both papyri contained a reading that rendered v. 192

¹⁹ The first alternative is perhaps not very plausible, as Kallistratos wrote a work Πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις, in which he criticized Aristarchos' *atheteseis* (cf. GUDEMAN, in *RE* X 2, 1919, col. 1738; H. L. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 14-17).

²⁰ M. J. APTHORP, *o.c.*, p. 8-9.

²¹ M. VAN DER VALK, *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey*, Leiden 1949, p. 274-275. See also H. L. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 260-261.

²² Anyway this would be of no use for dating the papyrus: in literary papyri *iota adscriptum* was still written, though often irregularly, centuries later. In *P. Bodmer 49* *iota adscriptum* is also written, but not systematically; cf. A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 223 with n. 6.

²³ Cf. A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 229.

superfluous. This is perhaps what Hurst wanted to suggest for *P. Bodmer* 49, when he wrote somewhat vaguely that, unless the line was left out inadvertently, we might have here “un texte déviant de la vulgate”, and supported this by pointing to the particular interpretation Aristarchos proposed for this passage (cf. schol. *ad* 193b) as a possible indication that the text was contested. It is true that the Alexandrian philologist²⁴ explained the words ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι as an aside of Odysseus, apparently attempting to tackle the troubling peculiarity that Odysseus would have spoken in such pessimistic terms just when he wanted to persuade his demoralized comrades to explore the island. This problem has led many scholars to devote a separate comment to the passage, or, more drastically, to emend the verse. The most ingenious emendation is certainly that of Apthorp (ἐγὼ δ’ ἄρ’ οἶομαι εἶναι)²⁵, although it does not fit the traces of v. 193b as read in *P. Bodmer* 49 any more than do other conjectures. The hypothesis that v. 192 did not originally belong to the text and that the apodosis of v. 193a would have been included in v. 193b could solve this problem of content as well. But I cannot find a half-verse sequence to εἴ τις ἔτ’ ἔσται μῆτις that would suit this theory and still be consistent with Homeric practice²⁶.

Therefore it is perhaps better to leave the question of the emendation of v. 193b as it is, and to return to the hypothesis of homoioarctic haplography. It is of course not very probable, though not impossible considering the homoiographic temptation, that two scribes casually omitted the same verse completely independently of one another, or, in case the two papyri were written by the same scribe, that one person, copying the same text twice, committed the same error each time. It is much more likely, however, that one of the two texts depends, directly or indirectly, on the other, or that both depend on the same ancestor. It is a well-known phenomenon in textual transmission that a purely

²⁴ The manuscripts HQ of the *Odyssey*-scholia read Ἀρχίλοχος, but Ἀρίσταρχος is a generally accepted emendation.

²⁵ Cf. M.J. APTHORP, *A Note on Odyssey 10.189-197*, *AClass* 18 (1975), p. 135-137. I refer also to this paper for the solutions proposed by earlier scholars.

²⁶ The compression of an εἰ- clause and a main clause into a single hexameter is rare in Homeric poetry. In indirect questions the main verb normally precedes (see the examples in D. TABACHOVITZ, *Homerische εἰ-Sätze: eine sprachpsychologische Studie* [Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, 3], Lund 1951, p. 91-112). The one-verse examples I have found of conditional constructions, such as H28 = v 321 (ἀλλ’ εἴ μοί τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη) do not provide a useful parallel.

accidental omission can extend to a small group of manuscripts, and since this occurs in post-Aristarchean tradition²⁷, I see no reason why it would not have occurred in these early Ptolemaic papyri. Indeed, some scholia inform us about line omissions in certain pre-Aristarchean manuscripts²⁸, while on the other hand some Ptolemaic papyri contain the same otherwise unknown additional verses²⁹. This proves that pre-Aristarchean interpolations and transcriptional errors could be copied in several manuscripts. If our papyrus and *P. Bodmer 49* were written by the same scribe, the copying of the same error would be easy to explain.

Thus the real interest of this tiny Ptolemaic Odyssey fragment is its complete correspondence with the recently published *P. Bodmer 49*, both with regard to the hand and to the text. In all probability, these two papyri, whether they are the work of the same copyist or not, represent a single stage in the pre-Aristarchean tradition.

Leuven

Marc HUYS

Aangesteld Navorsers N.F.W.O.

²⁷ Cf. M.J. APTHORP, *o.c.*, p. 16 ff.

²⁸ Cf. M.J. APTHORP, *o.c.*, p. 74, p. 115-116 n. 107.

²⁹ More often there is no such agreement; but see M 189b and 190a in both *P. Hamburg* 153 (Pack² 875) and *P. Lond.* 251 (Pack² 894) (cf. S. WEST, *o.c.*, p. 91, p. 101-102), 1537a in both *P. Sorb. inv.* 2245A (Pack² 1081) and *P. Bodmer 49* (cf. A. HURST, *o.c.*, p. 225, p. 228). I have not found any examples of corresponding line omissions in Ptolemaic papyri, but since the number of such overlapping pre-Aristarchean papyri is still very low, this fact should not lead to a negative conclusion. Besides, there is the interesting case of the omission of ψ 92 in *P. Heidelberg* 1264a (Pack² 979) confirming the comment of the scholion *ad loc.* on Aristarchos' *athetesis* of the line: ἐν πάσαις οὐκ ἦν ὁ στίχος (cf. S. WEST, *o.c.*, p. 171).

A MILITARY ROSTER ON A VASE IN AMSTERDAM*

In the nineteen-seventies a large group of ostraca was found by native diggers in Upper Egypt. Through an antiquities dealer in Luxor the texts made their way to several European and American collections. Part of the find was published very quickly¹; another part, the extent of which is impossible to establish, is still unpublished. Among the latter are some twenty ostraca in the collection of the *Institut für Altertums-wissenschaft* in Cologne, which we have been kindly allowed to study on this occasion. Many other texts no doubt found their way to private collections of passing tourists. Two of these, from a small collection in Veltem-Beisem (Belgium), are published here in the appendix.

Unlike the vast majority of Roman ostraca, these are not tax-receipts, but documents dealing with the life and the internal organization of a small army detachment. They consist mainly of letters to and from soldiers, officers and their families, and also of lists of soldiers and civilians charged with guard duties.

Due to contradictory statements by the local antiquities dealer this group of texts was attributed to the Roman garrison at Edfou (the *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum*; see *O. Flor.* introd.) and to the Roman troops at Esnah². The few preserved toponyms (cf. *infra*) and especially the Egyptian personal names, however, refer to the neighbourhood of Thebes³. Instead of a *cohors equitata* the unit could as well have been an *ala*. One ostrakon in the private collection of M. Hombert makes mention of a trooper of the *ala* (*I Thracum*) *Maure-tana*, who was probably on detachment in our camp⁴. The Latin word *ala* may also occur in l. 36 of the present text (see comm.) and in *O. Amst.* 82, if we read ll. 2-3 of that text as follows:

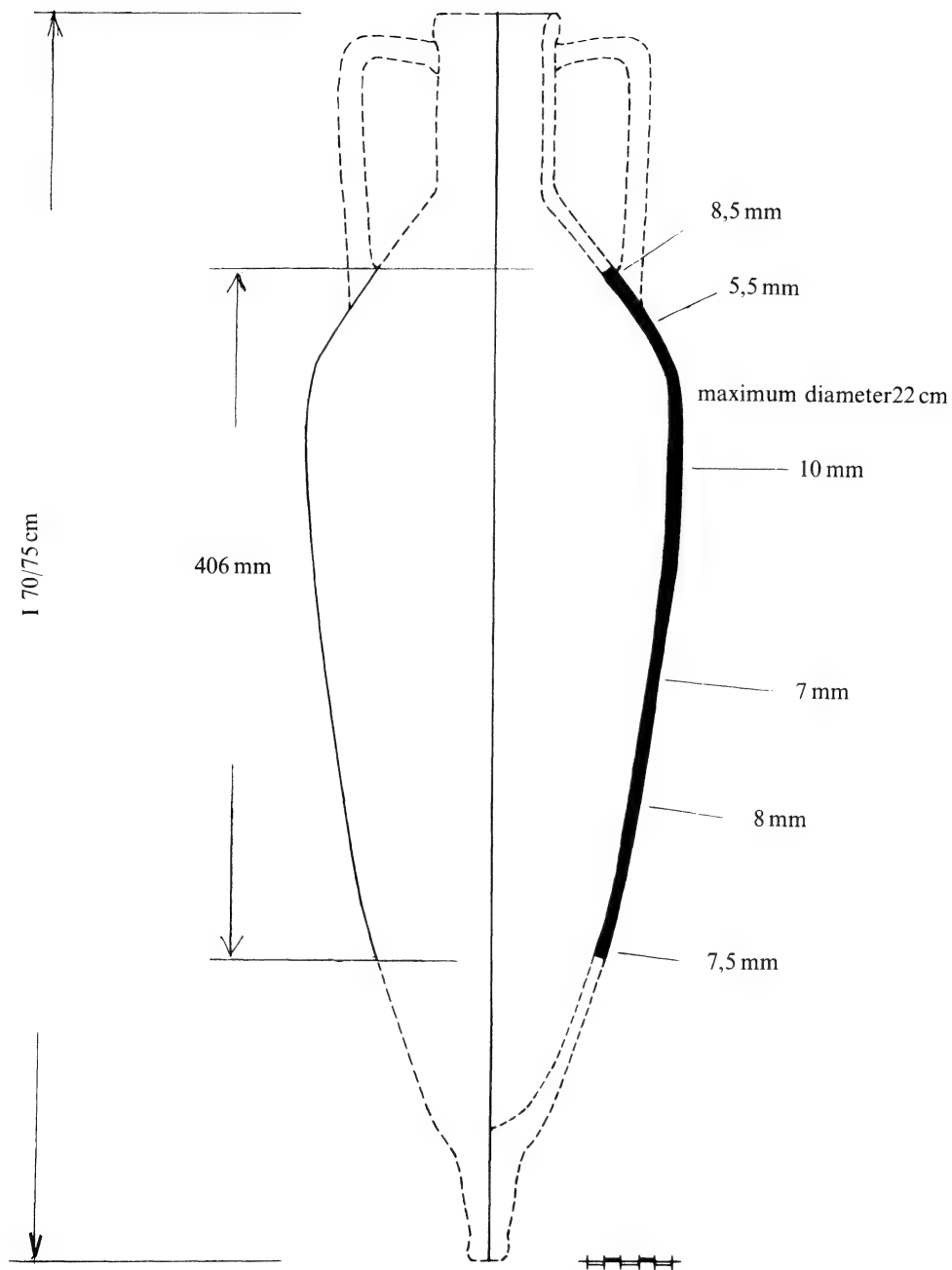
* With thanks to H. Devijver for helpful criticism and to R. W. Daniel for correcting our English.

¹ *O. Florida, O. Amsterdam, O. Moen, O. Barns.*

² R. S. BAGNALL, *The Roman Garrison of Latopolis*, *BASP* 12 (1975), p. 135-144; J. F. GILLIAM, *Three Ostraca from Latopolis*, in *Roman Army Papers (Mavors. Roman Army Researches, 2)*, Amsterdam 1986, p. 379-385 (= *BASP* 13, 1976, p. 55-61).

³ Cf. W. CLARYSSE, *A Roman Army Unit near Thebes*, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia III*, Naples 1984, p. 1021-1026.

⁴ G. NACHTERGAEL, *Quatre nouveaux ostraca de la collection Marcel Hombert*, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia III*, Naples 1984, p. 905-909.



πα̃σα ἡ Π.[- -]
 κου ἄλλα .ι[- -]

The archive as a whole may be dated palaeographically to the 2nd cent. A.D. This dating is confirmed by the Latin personal names Oulpis (Ulpus), Ailis (Aelius) and Antoninus (see appendix, p. 96, text 2 and comm.), which refer to the reigns of Trajanus - Hadrianus - Antoninus Pius as a *terminus a quo*. The *ala Mauretana* mentioned in the ostrakon Hombert was stationed in Egypt from 134 onwards⁵.

Among the most interesting documents of this group one may count a few lists recording rosters for guard duties, called *stationes* and *skopeloi*. The guard-posts were no doubt situated in or near the desert, but not necessarily far from the main camp, which was in our opinion somewhere in or near the cultivated area. Quite often these lists have one or more short titles: σκοπελάριοι (*O.Flor.* 24 = *SB* xvi 12379), κατ' ἄνδρα σκοπελάριοι (*O.Amst.* 10), φύ(λακες) μηνὸς Ἐπειφ (*O.Flor.* 26), στατιωνάριοι (*O.Amst.* 12), στατιόνες κόμης (*O.Amst.* 11). The same names recur again and again, proving the close interrelationship of the texts.

The largest text of this group is *O.Amst.* 8, which consisted of 16 fragments belonging to a single vase. Part of these could be joined, but not enough was preserved to reconstruct the shape of the vase or the order of the columns. In its *editio princeps* *O.Amst.* 8 therefore consists of four large pieces that do not join.

In the years 1980-1985 the University of Amsterdam acquired four new fragments of the same vase, which fitted the ones already published in such a fortunate way that all fragments can now be joined to each other. Thus the shape of the vase can be reconstructed exactly and the order of the columns is now certain⁶. A good deal of the vase is still lost, but probably most of the lost fragments did not contain any text

⁵ Cf. J. LESQUIER, *Recherches sur l'armée romaine en Égypte*, Le Caire 1918, p. 79-80. See also [Σε]μπρώνιος Ἑρμείνος, *equus alae Mauretanae*, in *BGU* II 447 l. 20 = I 26 (Fayoum, 175 A.D.); M. SPEIDEL, *Ala Maurorum? Colloquial Names for Roman Army Units*, in *Roman Army Studies* I, Amsterdam 1984, p. 109-110 (= *Anagennesis* 1, 1981, p. 88-92).

⁶ A short description of the reconstruction is given by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Een vaas met gegevens aangaande het Romeinse leger in Egypte*, in *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*, *Mededelingenblad* nr. 36 (1986), p. 14-16 and 40 (1987), p. 16-17. The vase itself is now permanently exhibited in the Allard Pierson Museum, room 4 show-case 29.

and were left behind by the finders for this very reason (cf. *infra*, p. 75). Long texts on vases are in fact very rare in Greek papyrology. The best parallels for this format are *O.Tait* II 1964-1967 + 2407-2434 and the account *O. Elkab* 191. The practice is more common for demotic texts, e.g. for the lease of a garden in *O.Med.Habu* 4038 (published by R. Parker in *JEA* 26, 1940, p. 84-113), for several accounts from the Bucheum (R. MOND - O. MYERS, *The Bucheum* II, p. 57-63) and for literary texts and school exercises, published by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, Leipzig 1912⁷.

There are several reasons for republishing the text here. First, thanks to the new fragments and especially to the combination of fragments, old and new, we are now able to propose quite a few new readings and supplements for the text. Furthermore, only now has it become possible to get a clear idea of the actual purpose and function of this remarkable document. Finally the present occasion allows us to make a few corrections on other texts of this «archive».

The vase is black at the inside because, like so many of the ostraca in the present group, its interior was coated with pitch⁸. For its measurements, see the drawing above.

O.Amst. 8 is written in four columns by three different hands. The first column starts very high on the vase (close to its collar). Each following column starts somewhat lower. Thus the fourth column begins about 7 cm below the first column, which it precedes (see pl. 4). Thanks to this disposition of the text, we know with certainty which column came first.

The first scribe wrote the first six lines of col. 1 and then went on with coll. 2 and 3. Again he confined himself to the first few lines: four lines in col. 2 and four long lines in col. 3⁹. Under col. 1, «transversa charta» and in large capitals were written the words ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ ΙΙΙΠΙΕΕΣ. The difference in letter type makes it difficult to establish if these words were written by the same hand as ll. 1-6 and meant as a kind of summary of the column. The link with the column seems at first

⁷ The texts on vases recently found in Aï Khanoum (see *BCH* 107, 1983, p. 319-351) are of a different nature: they really go with the vases and their original contents.

⁸ For the ancient custom of coating wine-vases with pitch, see most recently H. COCKLE, *Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt. A New Papyrus*, *JRS* 71 (1981), p. 81-97 (= *P.Oxy.* L 3696).

⁹ These long lines were wrongly divided over two columns in the *editio princeps*: Aelius Strictor, Patenephotēs and Maximus are guards for the localities Isieion, Palaia Kome and Ibieion respectively, as is now clear from the rest of the column.

sight clear through the name *Drakon*, but it is rather unlikely that the same person is meant (see comm.). Thus the first scribe apparently gave only a first outline of the text, which was then completed in detail by the second scribe. After the first scribe had finished, the vase contained only the text as shown overleaf.

The second scribe then carried on the first column with a roster of two daily alternating couples. There came no further text under the second column, as is clear from the blank spaces under l. 38 and to the left of ll. 13-25 (see plate 1). The third column is again continued by the second hand. For a reason unknown to us (pitch stains on the vase?) the scribe does not go straight downwards, but indents about 4 cm to the right. We assume therefore that the large lacuna under col. 2 and under the left part of col. 3 was blank. This could explain very well why this part of the vase is now lost: when the vase was found, it was no doubt broken but complete. The finders picked up all sherds with «maktub», the blank fragments were simply left behind.

The second scribe continues into col. 4 and here he takes over, as it were, the role of the first scribe: he writes a title and the pattern for the first day. From l. 68 onwards the list is continued by a third hand.

The difference between the first and the second scribe is clear from the handwriting (the second hand is much stiffer than the first) and partly also from the orthography. The first scribe has *παλαιας κωμης* (once) and *μουνατιανες* (twice), the second hand unites *παλεας κομης* and *μουνατιανος*. At first (ll. 7-13) the second hand copies the forms *εισιδωρος*, *ανω* and *κατω* from its predecessor, but then it changes and consistently uses *ισιδωρος*, *ανο* and *κατο*. The third hand can easily be identified because it uses a different pen, much thinner than that (or those) of scribes 1 and 2.

The text can not only be subdivided according to different hands, but also according to its contents. Again we may distinguish three groups:

I. col. 1 and 2 give a list of *vexillationes*. This function is performed by two groups of two persons each, alternating every other day. *Munatianus* and *Isidoros* are in function on odd days, *Drakon* and *Clemens* on even days. The first column breaks off after the 15th day, but there was clearly not enough space available at the bottom of the vase for the rest of the month. It is quite possible that the 15th day was also in fact the last day in the column.

One may ask whether the filling in of this first column by the second

<div>α</div> <div>οὐεσγλαρίωνες</div> <div>Μονατιανῆς</div> <div>Εἰσιδωρος</div> <div>Δράκων</div> <div>Κλήμης</div>	<div>ἄνω</div> <div>κάτω</div> <div>ἄνω</div> <div>κάτω</div>	<div>Φαμενὼτ ᾱ</div> <div>αλεπιστουκα</div> <div>Μονατιανῆς</div> <div>καὶ Εἰσιδωρος</div>	<div>Φαμενὼτ ᾱ</div> <div>σκοπέλου Εἰσίου κάτω Αἴλις Στρεϊκτωρ</div> <div>σκοπέλου Παλαιᾶς Κώμης Πατενεφώτης</div> <div>σκοπέλο υ ᾿Ηβε λου ἄνω Μάξιμος Ἀριανού</div>
<div>β</div>			<div>ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ</div> <div>ΙΠΠΕΕΣ</div>

hand happened all at once or whether the scribe added a few lines every day. In other words did he set a program for the rest of the month (or half of it) or did he register day by day the tasks actually fulfilled? The first possibility is in our view more likely, notwithstanding a few small irregularities. The indentation of the day-number $\bar{\epsilon}$ in l. 11 is no doubt due to a pitch stain; the horizontal strokes above the day-numbers are written rather irregularly (they are absent in 8 instances out of 15), but such irregularities also occur in texts written at one go. The tendency to shift gradually to the left, according to Maas's law¹⁰ rather tells in favour of a redaction all at once.

The purpose of the second column completely escapes us. The first hand repeats the day-indication Phamenoth 1 (*alpha* is certain, *lambda* excluded). The month-name occurs here for the first time, though in our opinion the first column also deals with Phamenoth, for the whole vase probably relates to one single month. This column is clearly linked to the first one through the names Munatianus and Isidoros. But we fail to grasp the meaning of the second line, which no doubt conceals the key for understanding this column.

II. col. 3.

The third column again starts on Phamenoth 1 and covers the whole month. It contains a roster for three guard-posts (Isieion, Ibion and Palaia Kome), divided into six periods of five days each. If our arrangement of the fragments is exact, the six turns (beginning on Phamenoth 1, 6, 11, 16, 21 and 26 respectively) are performed by nine men, each of whom has duty twice in the course of the month (9 men \times 2 terms of duty = 18 turns of duty; 3 guard-posts \times 6 turns each = 18 turns of duty). After his turn of duty each guard had a free period of at least five days, and nobody guards the same locality twice within the same month. The pattern of guard duties can be schematically rendered as shown in the table on p. 78.

No doubt the original principle of organization was that each group of three men should return to work after a free period of ten days:

1-5 and 16-20	: Aelius Strictor, Patenephotēs, Maximus Ariani
6-10 and 21-25	: Petosiris, Apollinaris, Oronophis
11-15 and 26-30	: Eponychos, Psais and NN

¹⁰ Cf. E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. by P. J. PARSONS (*BICS Supplement* 46), London 1987, p. 5.

Phamenoθ	Aelius Strictor	Patenephotes	Maximus Ariani	Petosiris	Apollinaris	Oronophis	Eponuchos	Psais	[NN] [= Aponis]
1-5	Isieion	Palaia K.	[Ibion]	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-10	—	—	—	Ibion	Isieion	Palaia K.	—	—	—
11-15	Palaia K.?	—	—	—	—	—	[Ibion]	[Isieion]	—
16-20	—	Ibion	Isieion	—	Palaia K.	—	—	—	—
21-25	—	—	—	Isieion	—	Ibion	—	Palaia K.	—
26-30	[Ibion] or [Palaia K.]	—	—	—	—	—	[Isieion] or [Palaia K.]	—	[Isieion] or [Ibion]

Phamenoθ	16	17	18	19	20	21
I	[- -]	[Apo]nis	[Psaís]	[Pe]tosiris	Aponis	[Epony]chos
II	[Apo]nis	[Psaís]	[Pe]to[siris]	[A]ponis	Ailis	[- -]
III	[Psaís]	[Ail]is	[Apo]nis	[A]ilis	[Pi]saís	[Petene]pho[te[s]]
IV	[Oro]nophis	[Pe]to[siris]	[Ail]is	Psaís	[Pe]tosiris	[- -]

But a few small modifications were allowed and registered in the roster. We find that Maximus is replaced by this father Arianus on the 16th. Aelius Strictor, who should have returned to duty in Palaia Kome on the 16th, replaces for that same village NN already on the 11th. On the 16th he is himself replaced by Apollinaris, whose turn on the 21st is then taken by Psais. For the last turn of duty (26th-30th) all names are lost in the lacuna and several supplements are possible (see our comm. on ll. 60-62).

III. col. 4

The last column is unfortunately very fragmentary. The first part of each line has disappeared in a lacuna and our supplements are sometimes rather hypothetical. It is still uncertain, for instance, how the title of this column should be read. We follow the reading [σ]τατίονος of the *editio princeps*, but the alternative [οὐεξι]λαρίονος was rejected only after long hesitation. The period covered by col. 4 starts on the 16th day. It could theoretically continue col. 1, which breaks off and maybe also ended on the 15th day. But the roster is very different from that in col. 1: we have here a daily alternation of 4 groups, designated with the Latin terms *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*, *quarta* or with Latin figures (I, II, III, IV). The personal names are largely identical with those in col. 3 (Petosiris, Psais, Oronophis, Ailis) and on the 21st day a complete changing of the guards seems to take place, again as in col. 3 (introduction of Eponychos and Petenephotes).

The roster of col. 4 is schematically rendered on p. 79.

The close connection with col. 3 is clear: all persons making their appearance in col. 4 are off duty in col. 3. Now it becomes clear why Aelius Strictor had to be replaced for his guard duty in col. 3 ll. 52-54: he is on duty in col. 4 under the name Αἴλις. Similarly Petosiris, Psais and Oronophis are not on duty in col. 3 for the period 16-20, nor are Petenephotes and Eponychos for the period 21-26. The person whose name is lost in col. 3 (called NN above) is no doubt Aponis of col. 4, though it is not excluded that in col. 3 he had a double Roman name, as does Aelius Strictor. Again regular alternation has been aimed at but not fully attained. Apparently each soldier was originally intended to pass through each of the four guard-posts in a regular order. This scheme tallies very well for Psais (his name is totally or almost totally supplied, but the supplements are reasonably certain because only a very short name could thus disappear in the lacuna). Psais first occurs

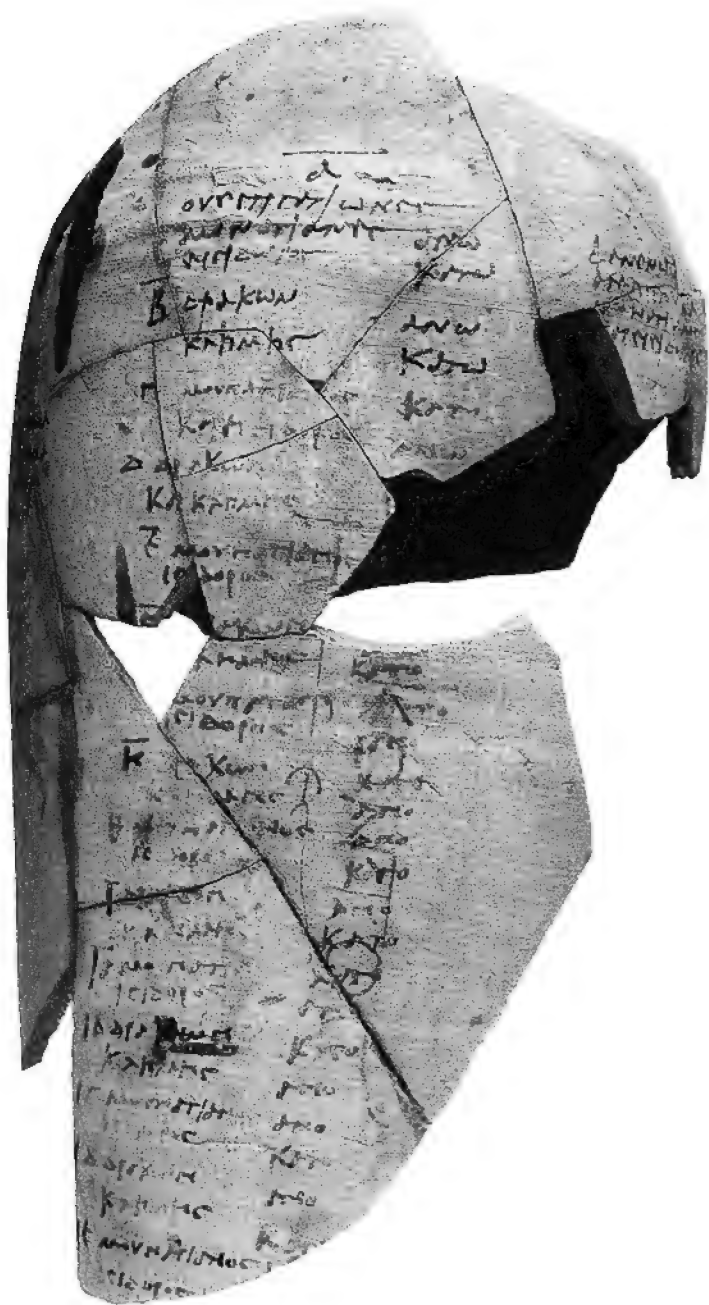


Plate 1. — *O. Amst.* 8, col. 1-2.



Plate 2. — *O. Amst.* 8, col. 2-3.

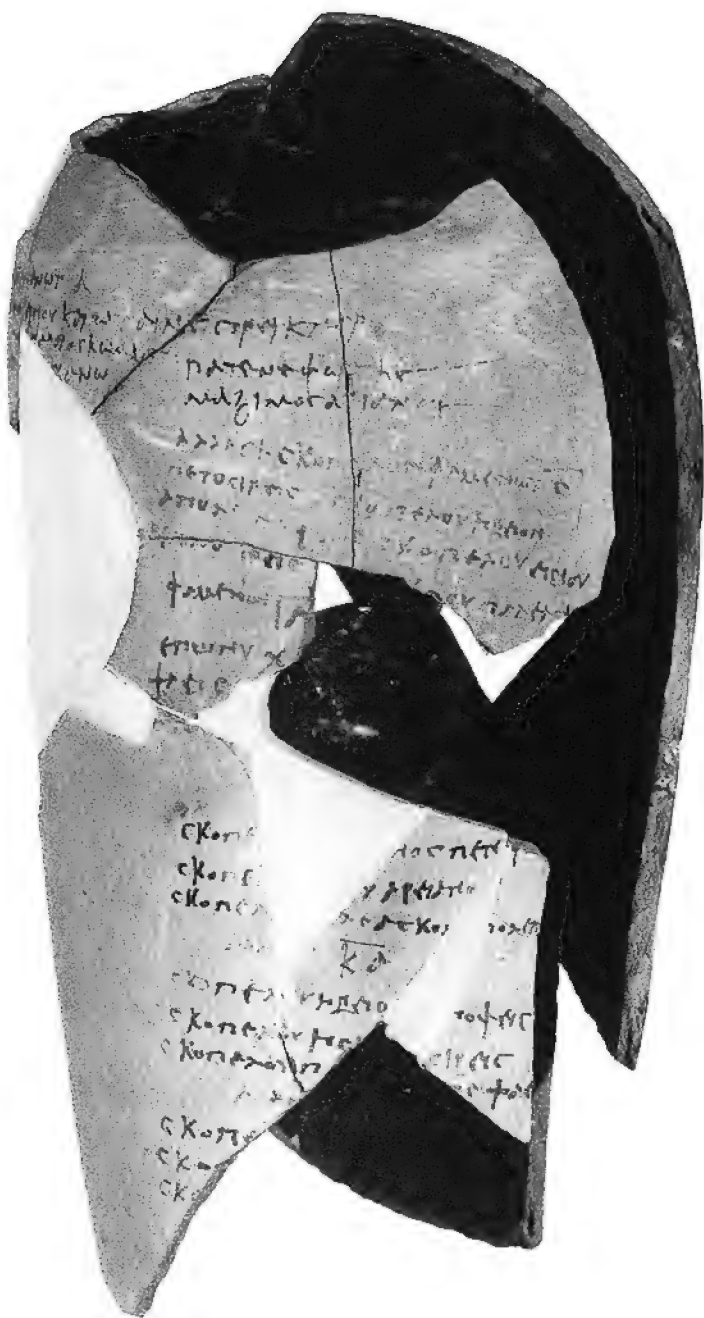


Plate 3. — *O. Amst.* 8, col. 3.



Plate 4. — *O. Amst.* 8, col. 4 - col. 1.



Plate 5a. — *O. Cottry 1*

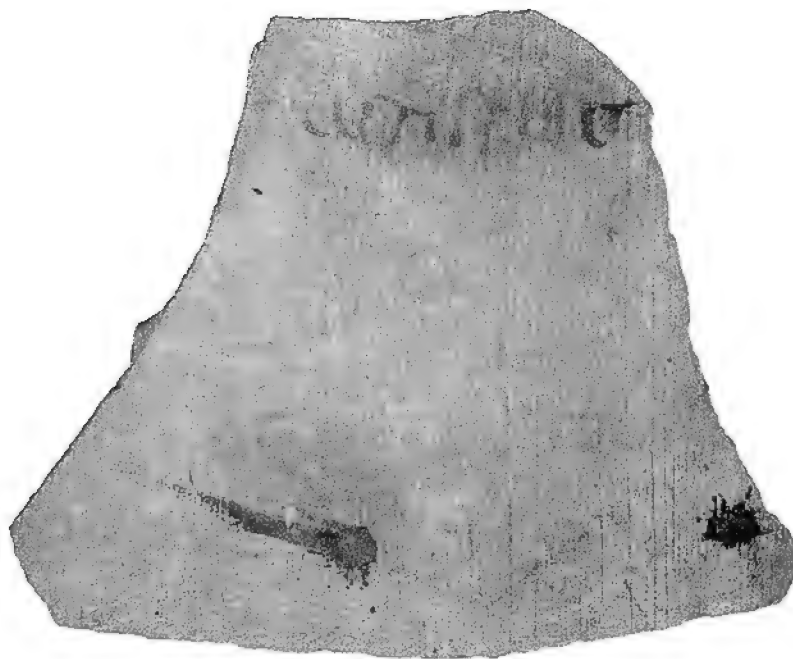
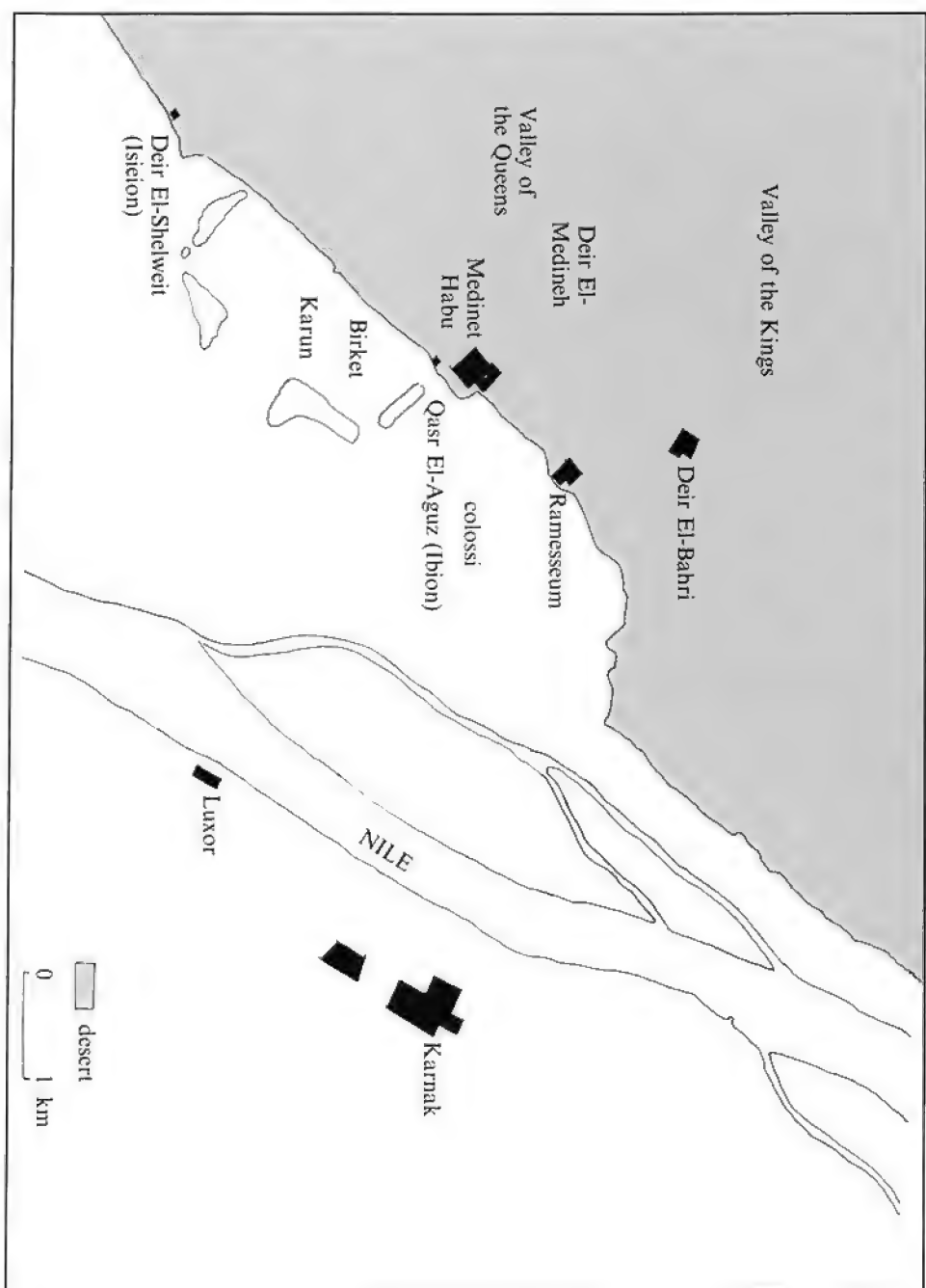


Plate 5b. — *O. Cottry 2*



on Phamenoth 16 in III and then he moves up and down regularly: III - II - I - IV - III. With the other persons the regularity is less strictly maintained:

Aponis: II - I - III (instead of IV) - II - I

Ailis: III - IV (instead of II) - III - II

Petosiris: [I] (?) - IV - II (instead of III) - I - IV

The vase as a whole seems to give a survey of the tasks that a group of soldiers had to fulfill during the month Phamenoth. No doubt it was publicly exhibited in the camp so that each of them could check what his duties were for the day. If one accepts that at the bottom of the vase hardly any text has been lost, the scheme of the whole vase may be reconstructed as follows:

col.	date	function
1	Phamen. 1-15	ano-kato <i>vexillarii</i>
2	Phamen. 1-?	?
3	Phamen. 1-30	Isieion, Ibion, Palaia Kome: <i>scopelarii</i>
4	Phamen. 16-21	I, II, III, IV: [<i>s</i>]tationes or [<i>vexil</i>]lationes

All columns are broken off underneath, but there is clearly insufficient space for the period 16-30 Phamenoth under col. 1. Similarly col. 4 breaks off on the 21st day, but there is no space for the rest of the month (22-30 Phamenoth). Maybe there existed a second vase of the same kind, now lost, containing these data. Though we are well aware that we are skating here on very thin ice, we have tentatively suggested the following partial reconstruction of the second vase:

1	Phamenoth 16-30	ano-kato <i>vexillarii</i>
2	Phamenoth 1-15	I, II, III, IV <i>stationes</i> or <i>vexillationes</i>

TEXT

col. 1		
		ᾱ
		οὐεσγίλαρίωνες
		Μονατιανές
		ἄνω
5	β̄	Εἰσίδωρος
		κάτω
		Δράκων
		ἄνω
		Κλήμης
		κάτω
	2nd hand	
	γ	Μουνατιανός
		κάτω
		καὶ Εἰσίδωρος
		ἄνω
	δ	Δράκων
		κάτω
10		καὶ Κλήμης
		[ἄνω]
	ε̄	Μουνατιανός
		[ἄνω]

		Ἰσ[ι]δορος	[κάτω]
	ξ	[Δ]ράκων	ἄνω
		[Κ]λήμης	κάτω
15	[ζ]	Μουνατιανός	κάτω
		Ἰσίδορος	ἄνω
	ῆ	Δράκων	κάτω
		Κλήμης	ἄνω
	θ	Μουνατιανός	ἄνω
20		Ἰσ[ι]δορος	κάτω
	ι	Δράκων	ἄνω
		Κλήμης	κάτω
	ια	Μο[υ]νατια[νός]	κάτω
		Ἰσίδορος	ἄνω
25	ιβ	Δράκων	κάτω
		Κλήμης	ἄνω
	ιγ	Μουνατιανός	ἄνω
		Ἰσίδορος	κάτω
	ιδ	Δράκων	ἄνω
30		Κλήμης	κάτω
	ιε	Μουνατιανός	κ[άτω]
		Ἰσίδορος	[ἄνω]

 From top to bottom, in a large hand:

33 [Δρ]άκοντος
 34 ἱππῆες

col. 2
1st hand

35 Φαμενὼτ ᾱ
 ἀλεπιστουκα
 Μονατιανές
 καὶ Εἰσίδωρος

col. 3
1st hand

40 Φαμενὼτ ᾱ
 σκοπέλου Εἰσίου κάτω Αἴλις Στρεϊκτωρ
 σκοπέλου Παλαιᾶς Κώμης Πατενεφώτης
 σκοπέλου Ἡβείου ἄνω Μάξιμος Ἀριανού

2nd hand

45 ἀλλαγή σκοπέλων Φαμενὼτ ξ
 Πετοσίρεις σκοπέλου Ἡβεῖον
 Ἀπολεινάριος σκοπέλου Εἰσίου

- Ὅρονόφεις [σκοπ]έλου Παλεᾶς Κ[ώμης]
 Φαμενὼτ ιᾶ
 Ἐπώνυχ[ος σκοπέλου Ἡβείου]
 Ψαεῖς [σκοπέλου Εἰσίου]
 50 Στρίκτ[ωρ σκοπέλου Παλεᾶς Κόμης]
 [ἀλλαγή ις]
 σκοπέλ[ου Ἡβιῶ]νος Πετε[ν]εφώ[της]
 σκοπέλ[ου Ἡσίου]υ Ἀρειανό[ς]
 σκοπέλ[ου Πα]λεᾶς Κόμ[ης Ἀπ]ολεῖν[αρις]
 55 ἀλλα[γή] κα
 σκοπέλ[ο]υ Ἡβειδ[νος Ὅρ]ονόφεις
 σκοπέλου Ἡσ[ίου] Πετο]σίρεις
 σκοπέλου Π[αλεᾶς Κόμ]ης ψαε[ῖς]
 ἀλλα[γή] κς
 60 σκοπέ[λου Ἡβειῶ]νος - -]
 σκοπ[έλου Ἡσίου Ἐπώνυχ]ος]
 σκοπ[έλου Παλεᾶς Κόμης] - -]

col. 4

2nd hand

- 63 [σ]τατίονος ις
 [....].εις πρίμα
 65 [Ἀπώ]νεις σεκόνδα
 [Ψαε]ῖς τερτία
 [Ὅρ]ονόφεις κόρτα
3rd hand
 ις
 70 [Ἀπ]ώνεις πρίμα
 [Ψαεῖς] σεκούντα
 [Ἀῖλ]εις τερτία
 [Πετ]οσίρεις κόρτα
 ιη
 75 [Ψαεῖς] I
 [Πετο]σίρεις II
 [Ἀπώ]νεις III
 [Ἀῖλ]εις IV
 ιθ
 80 [Πετ]οσίρεις I
 [Ἀ]πώνεις II
 [Ἀ]ῖλεις III
 [Ψαεῖς] IV
 κ
 85 Ἀπώνεις I
 Ἀῖλεις II
 [Ψ]αεῖς III

	[Πε]τοσῑρεις	IV
	κα	
	[Ἐπώνυ]χος	I
90	[II
	[Πετενεφώ]τη[ς]	III

1. $\bar{\alpha}$: this figure should in fact have been written in l. 3, after the general heading of l. 2. Although no month-name is given here, it is clear from coll. 2 and 3 that throughout the month Phamenoth (February-March) is meant.

2. οὐεσγίλαρίωνες

In the *editio princeps* this word was read as οὐεγτιγαλίωνες. Both οὐεσγίλαρίων and οὐεγτιγαλίων are *hapax legomena* and transcriptions of Latin words, *vexillario* and *vectigalio* respectively. But the new reading, suggested by prof. J. IJsewijn (Leuven) has three distinct advantages: it fits the traces excellently, whereas in οὐεγτιγαλίωνες both the first *gamma* and the *lambda* were irregular in shape; if *vexillario* is new indeed, it is a derivation — or should we say a contamination? — of two Latin words which are well attested in the Greek vocabulary of the Roman period, viz. οὐεξιλλάριος and οὐεξιλλατίων (cf. S. DARIS, *Il lessico Latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona 1971, p. 81-83), whereas *vectigal(io)* is unknown in the papyri; thirdly *vexillarii* or *vexillationes*, i.e. soldiers detached from their unit, is a fitting description of groups of soldiers posted as guards in or near the desert, whereas *vectigal(io)* «taxation» was a very puzzling heading for the following list, as is clear from Bagnall's comment in *JARCE* 14 (1977), p. 70.

3-32. This is a list of *vexillarii* for Phamenoth 1-15. The text breaks off after the 15th day (l. 32), but the vase was clearly not large enough to contain the whole month in one column. If only the first half of the month was registered here, the text would in fact be complete (see above, p. 75).

The *vexillarii*, detached soldiers¹¹, were on guard-duty somewhere in or near the desert. They apparently returned to the main camp every other day. The guard-post consisted of a lower and an upper station.

¹¹ Cf. R. SAXER, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, *Epigr. Studien* 18 (1967), with a survey of *vexillationes* in Egypt on p. 97-100.

The former was no doubt along the road, the latter on an elevation providing a good view of people arriving. R. S. BAGNALL, *Upper and lower guard posts*, *CE* 57 (1982), p.125-128, discusses such a system in the desert, but the same method may well have been used in the narrow Nile valley of the Sa'id as well. The guards reversed position every day in an elaborate pattern:

day of the month	upper guard (ἄνω)	lower guard (κάτω)
1	Munatianus	Isidoros
2	Drakon	Clemens
3	Isidoros	Munatianus
4	Clemens	Drakon
5	Munatianus	Isidoros
6	Drakon	Clemens
7	Isidoros	Munatianus
8	Clemens	Drakon
9	Munatianus	Isidoros
10	Drakon	Clemens
etc.	etc.	etc.

Seen from the point of view of the guards the pattern is very uniform. After serving in a guard post the man gets a day off and the next day he has to serve again in the other post:

name	day of month	1	2	3	4	5	6
Munatianus		ano		kato		ano	
Isidoros		kato		ano		kato	
Drakon			ano		kato		ano
Clemens			kato		ano		kato

Because the scribe wanted to maintain the order of guards (first Munatianus-Isidoros, then Drakon-Clemens) unaltered throughout the list, he was obliged to change the order of the guard-posts every third day. Thus arose the following remarkable alternation of guard-posts:

1	ano	kato
2	ano	kato
3	kato	ano
4	kato	ano
5	ano	kato
6	ano	kato
7	kato	ano

The best parallels for this column are *O. Amst.* 13 and *SB* xvi 12654, both from the same archive. In *O. Amst.* 13 the alternating order, ἄνω - κάτω on the 6th-7th, κάτω - ἄνω on the 4th-5th and 8th of the month, is exactly the same as in the present text. The main difference is in the names: in *O. Amst.* 13 the names of the watchmen are all different (seven names are preserved), in our text the task is fulfilled by four people only.

In *SB* xvi 12654 the same alternation can be restored by a minor correction to the *editio princeps*. In its present publication the text is presented as follows:

κα	Δράκων	[ἄνω]
	Εἰ < σί > δορος	κ[άτω]
κβ	Λοκρήτις	ἄν[ω]
	Ἀρίανος	κάτ[ω]
κγ	Ἀρυώθης	ἄνω
	Ἑρμῖνος	ἄνω
κδ	᾽Οφέλις	κάτω
	Δράκων	κάτω
[κε	Εἰσιδορος	ἄν[ω]
	[]

There is an unexpected irregularity on the 23rd and 24th days: instead of the normal distribution of the guard-posts between ἄνω and κάτω, suddenly we have twice ἄνω on the 23rd and twice κάτω on the 24th day. Plate 1c in *ZPE* 39 (1980) allows us to bring this passage into line with parallels in the other texts. As a matter of fact, the day-indications in this column are not written on exactly the same level as the names of the guards following them: they stand more or less between the lines. This is especially clear in the case of κα (between ll. 1 and 2), κβ (between ll. 3 and 4) and κδ (between ll. 7 and 8). Only κγ is written more or less on one line with Ἀρυώθης in l. 5. The editor reasonably started from this line to assign the day-indication to the other lines of writing. In any case, it is clear that the scribe wrote the day-figures first and afterwards filled in the names of the guards and the topographical indications ἄνω and κάτω. If one simply lowers the day-figures by one line, the daily duality ἄνω - κάτω is restored and the alternation corresponds almost perfectly with that on the Amsterdam vase.

There is a slight possibility that our col. 1 is continued by the Barns fragment (on another vase?): col. 1 breaks off on a 16th day, *SB* xvi 12654 begins on a 21st day. Two of the persons, Drakon and Isidoros,

are identical. Even the handwriting may be the same as the second hand of our vase (cf. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39, 1980, p. 130). But there is a notable difference, namely that the Barns fragment mentions other persons as well. In this respect the Barns fragment rather resembles *O.Amst.* 13.

In our revised version *SB* xvi 12654 reads as follows:

	Δράκων	[ἄνω]
κα	Εἰ < σῖ > δορος	κ[άτω]
	Λοκρήτις	ἄν[ω]
κβ	Ἀριανός	κάτ[ω]
	Ἀρυώθης	ἄν[ω]
κγ	Ἑρμῖνός	ἄνω
	᾽Οφέλις	κάτω
κδ	Δράκων	κάτω
	[Ε]ἰσίδορος	ἄν[ω]

A few problems remain. The transition from κγ to κδ diverges from the regular order; if the Sammelbuch-fragment really follows upon our first column, a similar shift must have occurred between the 15th and the 21st day: the second fragment of the Sammelbuch text (ll. 12-16) does not fit the above scheme at all.

Every guard-post was thus manned by two soldiers, one looking out from an elevated position (ἄνω), the other positioned at road-level (κάτω) and checking the passers-by¹². The post along the road no doubt received an early warning from the man above each time somebody was arriving. If this is true, the guard *Drakon* (col. 1 *passim*) cannot have been identical with the homonymous commander of a group of troopers in ll. 33-34. The former is a common soldier, who actually has to stand guard somewhere along the road, the latter is an officer who leads a detachment of troopers. *Drakon* 1 is therefore no doubt a subordinate of *Drakon* 2. That the guards in col. 1 are indeed common soldiers is proven also by *O.Amst.* 13 and *SB* xvi 12654, where several of them have Egyptian names (*Pachomis*, *Haryothes*). This is quite impossible with officers.

3. Μο(υ)νατιανός

Munatianus is a rare name in Egypt. Claudius Munatianus in *P. Lips.* I 112 (A.D. 123) is no doubt a rich Roman landlord, who acts through his estate-manager; his namesake in *P.Oxy.* XII 1498 (275-300

¹² See the description of this system by R. S. BAGNALL, *CE* 57 (1982), p. 125-128.

A.D.) may be a descendant of the same family. At first one is inclined to believe that our soldier Munatianus received his name from Munatius Felix, prefect of Egypt from 150 to 154¹³, and this is certainly possible. But a Roman knight named Munatianus held the important post of archidikastes in Alexandria in 127 and he or a member of his family could as well be the source of the name¹⁴.

4. Ἰσίδωρος

The same man occurs in *SB* xvi 12654 l. 2 (together with Drakon) and l. 9. Given the popularity of the name it is uncertain if Isidoros in *O. Flor.* 4 l. 5 and *O. Flor.* 25 l. 7 is the same person.

5. Δράκων

The name recurs several times in the archive: *SB* xvi 12650 l. 3; 12655 l. 1; 12654 l. 1 and l. 8. In the last of these texts the same person is certainly meant, since he performs a similar guard-duty together with Isidoros. The two other texts are very fragmentary. The name Drakon was quite popular in Roman Egypt and in our text we should no doubt distinguish the cavalry officer (ll. 33-34) from the soldier.

6. Κλήμης: in the archive the name Κλήμης, the normal Greek rendering of Latin Clemens¹⁵, occurs only here.

7-10. At first the second scribe connects the names of the guards by means of καί. He does so only for the first two days (ll. 7-10). This is remarkable because his model, the first hand, does not use καί in ll. 3-6. Maybe he kept his eye on the beginning of col. 2, where the first hand has indeed written Μουνατιανὸς καὶ Εἰσίδωρος.

33-34. Δράκοντος ἱππῆες

Written in large capitals (by the first hand?) from top to bottom of the vase before the second hand continued the rest of the column (see p. 75-76). The reading is as good as certain, but the non-contracted form ἱππῆες is apparently unique.

¹³ Cf. G. BASTIANINI, *ZPE* 17 (1975), p. 291-292.

¹⁴ Cf. H. DEVIJVER, *PME* 1 558 (= *Stud. Hell.* 22, 1975, no. 85). Add now *Anagenesis* 4 (1986), p. 137-138.

¹⁵ Cf. B. MEINERSMANN, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig 1927, p. 78.

36. ἀλεπιστουκά

Although the signs are well-preserved and clearly drawn, we have no idea how to interpret them. All we could think of was reading ἀλε (= *ala*?) Πιστουκά = the *ala* of Pistoukas, but this is hardly attractive because it introduces a new proper name and an unlikely orthography for the Latin word *ala*. Moreover, the practice of calling auxiliary regiments after their current commanders occurs only in the early imperial period¹⁶. R. W. Daniel tentatively suggests to read the Latin title *ap epistula*, but this does not fit the traces and is hardly likely in the context.

40-42. Isieion, Palaia Kome, Ibieion.

The three toponyms occur several times in the archive with varying orthographies:

— Isieion

Εἰσῖον	ll. 40, 45
Ἴσιον	<i>SB</i> xiv 12040 l. 3
Ἴσιδῆον	<i>O.Flor.</i> 24 (= <i>SB</i> xvi 12379) l. 1
Ἴσιών	<i>O.Amst.</i> 14 l. 12
Ἰσῖον	l. 57

The «classical» orthography Ἴσιεῖον is not attested. Most variants are simply due to itacism. Only Ἴσιών is remarkable and may be formed after Ἰβίων, though even here one could accentuate Ἰσῖων, invoking confusion of *o-mikron* and *o-mega*.

— Ibion

Ἰβις	<i>O.Amst.</i> 14 l. 10
Ἰβεῖον	ll. 42, 44 (not in the genitive here)
Ἰβίων	ll. 52, 56

The regular form is Ἰβίων, gen. Ἰβίωνος, with the suffix -ων indicating a locality («place of the ibises», cf. ἐλαιών, περιστερών etc¹⁷). The variant Ἰβεῖον is formed with the suffix -ειον used for temples (cf.

¹⁶ See M. SPEIDEL, *Auxiliary units named after their commanders*, In *Roman Army Studies* I, Amsterdam 1984, p. 101-108 (= *Aegyptus* 62, 1982, p. 165-172).

¹⁷ The demotic term for Ἰβίων was probably ḥj.t «ibis aviary», cf. P. GALLO, *A proposito del termine demotico ḥj.t e dell' eventuale corrispondenza greca Ἰβίων*, *EVO* 9 (1986), p. 45-48.

Ἰσιεῖον, Σαραπιεῖον etc.) and occurs only here. Apparently the scribes confused the endings of Ἰσιεῖον and Ἰβιών.

— Palaia Kome

This toponym occurs only here. In *O.Flor.* 2 l. 10 mention is made of a place ἐγγυς τοῦ πραισιδίου Καινοῦ. The editor interpreted καινός here as an adjective («the new praesidium»), but Youtie rightly preferred a toponym here («the praesidium of Kainon»)¹⁸. This place Kainon («the new place», cf. Arabic Qenah for Καινή) may have been the counterpart of Palaia Kome, «the old village».

In *O.Amst.* 14 another toponym is mentioned between the Isieion and the Ibion, viz. Aphis. Could this be the Egyptian name of «the old village»? This is not at all unlikely given the very close similarity between *O.Amst.* 14 and our vase.

Although the terms Isieion and Ibion do occur all over Egypt as toponyms or parts of toponyms¹⁹, we think they may, in the present case, be exactly located on the map, at least if one accepts the Theban origin of the group of texts under discussion. In an earlier article one of us opted for the eastern side of the river on the basis of the personal name Pasaphthis²⁰. But the argument is far from decisive and other personal names such as Pasemis and the numerous Montou-names rather refer to the West bank. If this is right, the Isieion may be identified with the small temple at Deir El-Shelwit, which was recently published by C. Zivie²¹. The Ibion is then probably the little temple of Qasr El-Aguz. This temple was dedicated to a popular cult of Thoth, worshipped here as Thotsutmis («Thot who listens») and as Teephibis («the face of the ibis speaks»)²². The latter cult-title shows that an ibis-aviary or ἰβιών was indeed attached to the temple of Qasr El-Aguz.

This hypothesis is rendered especially attractive because Deir El-Shelwit and Qasr El-Aguz are both built along the edge of the desert at

¹⁸ H. C. YOUTIE, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* II, Bonn 1982, p. 559-561 (= *ZPE* 36 (1979), p. 68-69).

¹⁹ See e.g. A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario s.v.* and the lists drawn up by M. DREW-BEAR, *Le nome hermapolite*, *ASPap* 21 (1979), p. 122-135 and P. PRUNETI, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi*, *Pap. Flor.* 9 (1981), p. 64-73.

²⁰ See n. 3.

²¹ C. ZIVIE, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, 3 vol., Cairo 1982-1986.

²² Cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, *Teephibis, dieu oraculaire?*, *Enchoria* 4 (1975), p. 19-24.

about 2 km distance from each other²³. The localisation of Palaia Kome and/or Aphis fits this picture very well. Although Palaia Kome is only mentioned here, Aphis is relatively well-known from the archive of the Theban choachytes²⁴. According to Pestman, who has made a detailed study of the choachytes' archive²⁵, the village was situated «in Medinet Habu or in its neighbourhood», *i.e.* in the immediate vicinity of Qasr El-Aguz and Deir El-Shelwit²⁶!

The exact meaning, however, of the words *κάτω* and *ἄνω* following *Εἰσίου* (l. 40) and *Ἡβείου* (l. 43) complicates the picture. Theoretically three interpretations are possible.

1. The Isieion is situated lower than the Ibion. In that case *ἄνω* and *κάτω* here correspond to *ἄνω* and *κάτω* in the first column: if we have *ἄνω* alone (as in col. 1) or *ιβίων* alone (as in col. 3 ll. 44-62) the scribe in fact intends *ιβίων ἄνω*, (= the ibis temple, situated on a high ground); if we have *κάτω* alone (col. 1) or *ισιεῖον* alone (col. 3 ll. 45-62) he means *ισιεῖον κάτω* (= the Isis temple, situated somewhere below).

If this interpretation is accepted, the identification suggested above becomes impossible. Deir El-Shelwit and Qasr El-Aguz are in fact situated on the same level, just above the ancient Birket Habu. Since Qasr El-Aguz is situated to the North of Deir El-Shelwit, the opposition *ἄνω*-South against *κάτω*-North cannot be invoked either. But this was in any case unlikely given the other texts in the archive where *ἄνω* - *κάτω* certainly has a very literal meaning.

2. There are two Isieia, one *ἄνω* and one *κάτω*, and two Ibiones, one *ἄνω* and one *κάτω*. Our text then specifies that we are dealing here with the Isieion below and the Ibion above. This is not in itself impossible. A similar distinction between an *ἄνω* and a *κάτω* *ισιεῖον* is for instance made in the Oxyrhynchite nome (see PRUNETI, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70). But the

²³ See our map (pl. 6), based on that of J. BAINES-J. MALEK, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1980, p. 85. Cf. also the panoramic view in *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine I*, Le Caire 1969-1970, pl. 129 (where Qasr El-Aguz is unfortunately misplaced).

²⁴ See J. QUAEGBEUR, *Documents grecs et géographie historique. Le Mendésien*, in *Colloques internationaux du CNRS n° 595, L'Égyptologie en 1979 I*, Paris 1982, p. 267-272, esp. p. 268. The doubts of W. Clarysse, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 1025 are unnecessary. See now also S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit (Beihefte zur Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, B41/1)*, p. 133-136, s.v. *ΑΠΕ*.

²⁵ P. W. PESTMAN, *P. Survey Choachytes* (in press).

²⁶ The village was probably situated close to a canal or a lake (the remnants of the ancient Birket Habu?). See e.g. *UPZ II 180a col. 46 l. 1 Σομπούς κυβ(ερνήτης) ἱεροῦ πλ(οίου) - - Ἀπεως*.

parallelism with col. 1 makes this redoubling rather unlikely. This interpretation is also incompatible with the identification proposed above.

3. In both places it is possible to mount the guard below (at street level) and above (*e.g.* on the roof of the temple or on a building near-by or on a small elevation of the ground). On our vase it is then stipulated that the guards at the Isieion will sit at road-level, whereas those at the Ibion will be ἄνω, *i.e.* at a higher level. Only this interpretation allows us to retain the identifications proposed above: the guards at Deir El-Shelwit and Qasr El-Aguz, at a mere 2 km from each other, could easily keep contact by means of mirrors during day-time and by light signals at night.

40. Αἴλιος Στρίκτωρ acts as a σκοπελάριος in Isieion for the period Phamenoth 1-5 and in Palaia Kome for the period Phamenoth 11-15 (if our reading Στρίκτ[ωρ] in l. 50 is right). He is probably identical with Αἴλις who acts on 17, 18, 19 and 20 Phamenoth among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4. The name Strictor is new in Egypt. Since it is not even included in I. ΚΑΙΑΝΤΟ, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1963, it is apparently very rare. As a common noun *strictor* «fruitpicker» is attested only in Cato Maior, *De agricultura* 144, where it is an editorial correction of corrupt manuscript readings.

41. Πατενεφώτης acts as a σκοπελάριος in Palaia Kome for the period Phamenoth 1-5 and in Ibion for the period Phamenoth 16-20. If our supplement in l. 91 is accepted, he functioned among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4 for Phamenoth 21 till (probably) 25.

The name was thus far attested only once (*O.Tait* 1761), but it is a normal variant of Πετενεφώτης. The latter is especially frequent in the Theban area, the centre of the cult of Chonsu-Neferhotep.

42. Μάξιμος Ἀριανοῦ: this provides an interesting case of father and son serving together in the army in the same company. In l. 53 Maximus' place is taken by his father Arianus and in *O.Amst.* 13 ll. 6-7 father and son mount guard together on the same day. It is more doubtful if other instances of the names Maximus and Arianus in the archive refer to the same individuals: *O.Flor.* 14 is a letter written by Maximus for a pregnant lady; Maximus in *O.Amst.* 17 l. 5 is probably

an officer. This text may perhaps be supplemented as follows: ὡς ἐκέλευσα[ς δι' Ἀπολ]λινάριου ἱππέ[ως τυρμῆς] Μαξίμου ἀπεσ[τάλκα-μεν] πρὸς σὲ τῇ ι [τοῦ month-name] τὸν ἵππον. If the reading Ἀριανός in *SB* xvi 12654 l. 4 is exact, he is no doubt identical with the person in our text.

44. Πετοσῆρις acts as a σκοπελάριος in Ibion for the period Phamenoth 6-10 and in Isieion for the period 21-25. From Phamenoth 17 till 20 he functions among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4.

45. Ἀπολλεῖναρις acts as a σκοπελάριος in Isieion for the period Phamenoth 6-10 and in Palaia Kome for the period Phamenoth 16-20. He does not reappear in col. 4.

Apollinaris is mentioned again in *SB* xvi 12654 ll. 12 and 16, with a similar guard duty as in the present text. He is probably identical with Iulius Apollinaris, who is relieved from duty in Aphis together with Aponius Petronianus in *O.Flor.* 3 l. 7 (cf. l. 65 comm.). According to *O.Flor.* 4 ll. 1-2 Iulius Apollinaris belonged to the *turma* of Aponis. He is mentioned again as serving in a σκόπελον in *O.Amst.* 15 col. 2²⁷. The name Apollinaris is again connected with the toponym Aphis in *O.Amst.* 20. It is, however, a very common name, especially in the army, and therefore it remains doubtful if Apollinaris in *O.Amst.* 17 is identical with our man. If the supplements given above for this text are exact, he must have been transferred to the *turma* of Maximus.

46. Ὀρονόφεις: *addendum onomasticis*. The same person occurs in *O.Amst.* 11 l. 1, where he is mentioned under the heading στατίονες κόμης.

Oronophis acts as a σκοπελάριος in Palaia Kome for the period Phamenoth 6-10 and in Ibion for the period Phamenoth 21-25. He turns up once among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4 (l. 67).

48. Ἐπώνυχος acts as a σκοπελάριος in Ibion (?) for the period Phamenoth 11-15 and probably in Isieion for the period Phamenoth 26-30 (but here everything is based on our supplements). He probably starts to function among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4 on the 21st (l. 89). The name occurs again in *O.Amst.* 22, a letter from

²⁷ See Clarysse's corrections to the text, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 1022.

Eponychos to Sarapion in which the latter is asked to assist a person who has to fetch bronze utensils at the other side of the Nile. This may be the same person, but the name is quite common in the Theban area and the possibility of homonyms cannot therefore be excluded.

49. Ψαεῖς acts as a σκοπελάριος in Isieion for the period Phamenoth 11-15 and in Palaia Kome for the period Phamenoth 21-25. We have supplemented his name among the *[s]tationes* or *[vexil]lationes* of col. 4 (ll. 66, 70, 74, 82, 86). Although in all those instances the name has totally or almost totally disappeared, the supplements are close to certain because the length of the lacuna allows for a very short name only. Thus Psais is the only name from col. 3 that enters into consideration.

The name occurs once more in the archive in *O.Flor.* 27, but it is impossible to ascertain if the same person is meant there.

60-62. We have refrained here from supplementing the names of the guards. The soldiers involved are no doubt Strictor, Eponychos and NN = Aponis (cf. p. 80 and 95). But we do not know exactly where each of them makes his appearance. Strictor has already functioned in Isieion (l. 40) and should now appear either in Ibion or Palaia Kome. Eponychos has functioned in Ibion (the supplement in l. 48 is certain) and should now return in Isieion or Palaia Kome. Aponis was replaced for Palaia Kome in l. 50 and should therefore function here in Isieion or Ibion.

63. [σ]τατίονος: after some hesitation we have followed here the reading and supplement of the *editio princeps*. Palaeographically this makes better reading than the alternative [οὐδεξι]λαρίονος. It implies, however, that this line was indented against the following ones. The word *[s]tationes* is also used as a title to a list in *O.Amst.* 11 (στατίονες), whereas in *O.Amst.* 12 στατιωνάριοι is used as a heading.

The word is followed by the figure 15, which has been corrected from an earlier figure, probably 5. Apparently the scribe at first started with the beginning of the month, but then changed this into the first day of the second half of the month.

64. The name was supplemented into [Πετοσῖ]ρεις in the *editio princeps* and this is indeed what one expects on the basis of role pattern as given

above, p. 81. The remaining traces are, however, hardly suitable for the reading *rho* (*lambda* or *alpha* look much more likely).

65. [Ἀπώ]νεις: the name is fully preserved in l. 84. The man may be identical with Aponius Petronianus, who serves in Aphis together with Iulius Apollinaris according to *O.Flor.* 3 l. 6. In *O. Flor.* 5 l. 2 a *decurio* Aponius Didymianus is mentioned, but Aponis in our text is more likely to have been a common soldier.

If we are right in identifying Aponis with the guard NN in col. 3, the tasks performed by him can be schematically rendered as follows:

16-20 Phamenoth: Aponis mounts guard with Oronophis, Psais, Aelius Strictor and Petosiris (col. 4).

26-30 Phamenoth: though no names are preserved in ll. 60-62, it seems likely that Aponis functioned along with Strictor and Eponychos as guard in Isieion or Ibion (see ll. 60-62 note).

64-68, πρίμα, σεκόνδα, τερτία, κόρτα

For the use of Latin numerals in Greek texts, see B. MEINERSMANN, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig 1927 (*primus*, p. 49; *secundus*, p. 96; *tertius*, p. 99). For the ordinal number *quarta* this seems to be the first attestation.

For the alternation between σεκόνδα (2nd hand) and σεκούντα (3rd hand), see F.Th. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, 1976, p. 219-220, who deals with the proper name *Secundus* (no forms with *tau* instead of *delta*). In l. 72 the scribe corrected κάρτα into κόρτα. The regular orthography would have been κο(υ)αρτα²⁸.

The adjectives are written in a feminine form. The feminine word omitted was no doubt στατίων.

From l. 74 onwards the ordinal numbers are no longer fully written out, but represented by Latin figures: I, II, III and IV. For the orthography IV, which occurs alongside IIII during the whole imperial period, see B. E. Thomasson, *Zu den notis numeralium in lateinischen Inschriften, Opuscula Romana* 3 (1961), p. 169-178. More surprising is the fact that the strokes for I, II and III are not written vertically as one would have expected, but laid down horizontally. This seems to be unique.

²⁸ Cf. V. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*, Paris 1913, p. 53 no. 91.

APPENDIX

O.Cottry 1

7.4 × 11.4 cm; brown-red pottery, the inside is pitched
pl. 5.

DIOSCORUS

Other Latin texts in the present archive are *O. Flor.* 29-31, *O. Moen* 13-14 (= *Talanta* 5, 1973, p. 82-83).

O.Cottry 2

8.4 × 10 cm; brown-red pottery, the inside is pitched
pl. 5.

[Av]τῶνῖνος

The name Antoninus occurs several times in the archive, e.g. for a *decurio* Herennius Antoninus (*O.Flor.* 2; *SB* xvi 12651) and a trooper Iulius Antoninus (*O.Flor.* 3). Other Antonini (*SB* xvi 12649; *O.Flor.* 5; 10) may be identical with one of these two.

The name Antoninus may contain a chronological indication for the date of the whole archive. In the first cent. it is hardly attested in Egypt, except for a few Roman citizens, most of them in high governmental positions, such as the Alexandrian archidikastes in the period of Domitianus (*P.Oxy.* xlix 3466), the tax-farmer Ti. Claudius Antoninus (*P.Tebt.* II 350; A.D. 70-71) and a wealthy Roman Cl. Antoninus in Oxyrhynchus (A.D. 77-83)²⁹. These people belonged to families which received their citizenship in the Julio-Claudian period and have nothing in common with the common soldiers called Antoninus from the second half of the second cent. onwards³⁰. A single common soldier named C. Iulius Antoninus is attested by a *proskynema* at Kalabscha (*SB* v 8516; A.D. 85). Even in the first half of the 2nd cent. the name remains very rare: the only dated instances before 150 are a secretary of the metropolis Arsinoe (*P.Meyer* 9; *P.Tebt.* II 321) and a *boethos* in Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* xli 2956 l. 31) in A.D. 147 and 148 respectively. Clearly the name came into fashion only after the accession of Antoninus Pius in 138 and the occurrence of several Antonini in the present group of texts is a reliable *terminus a quo*.

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²⁹ For references, see B.W. JONES-J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, *ASPap* 25 (1983), no. 288 (wrongly included as Cl. Antonius instead of Cl. Antoninus) and the note by M.G. RASCHKE, *BASP* 13 (1976), p. 27.

³⁰ For common soldiers called Antoninus in the Roman army of Egypt, see R. CAVENAILE, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), p. 220 nos. 137-140; N. CRINITI, *Aegyptus* 53 (1973), p. 100 nos. 138, 140, 140a; EAD., *Aegyptus* 59 (1979), p. 213 nos. 136b, 136c.

«NUOVA» TESTIMONIANZA EPIGRAFICA
SULL'ALLEVAMENTO TRANSUMANTE
IN TERRITORIO ALBENSE (*AE* 1974, 308)*

Una particolarità delle officine lapidarie di *Alba Fucens*, però non esclusiva a questo centro, consiste nel rappresentare sulle pietre tombali oggetti di uso quotidiano o strumenti, sia con un significato simbolico (non sempre chiaro), sia come allusioni al mestiere del defunto¹. Queste rappresentazioni vengono per lo più applicate sulla faccia anteriore delle stele funerarie oppure sui fianchi delle are funerarie. Talvolta appaiono anche sui fianchi, alquanto stretti, delle stele funerarie. In quest'ultimo caso, però, sfuggono più facilmente agli editori delle epigrafi, come nel caso della stele *AE* 1974, n. 308, che porta sul fianco destro una rappresentazione alludente al mestiere del defunto e che costituisce così una testimonianza interessante su una delle attività economiche in territorio albense.

Rimangono ignoti il luogo e le circostanze del rinvenimento della stele funeraria *AE* 1974, n. 308, i cui frammenti superstiti giacevano fra il materiale accumulato nel sotterraneo della scuola di Albe quando il De Visscher iniziò gli scavi di *Alba Fucens* nel 1949². Si tratta di due frammenti combacianti dell'angolo superiore destro della stele, con resti delle prime sei righe dell'iscrizione, e della fascia inferiore che conserva l'ultima riga del testo (fig. 1). Sulla foto pubblicata dal De Visscher è ancora visibile il residuo del coronamento che originariamente sormon-

* Ringraziamo il collega F. Musarra (Univ. Lovanio) per la revisione del testo italiano di quest'articolo.

¹ Alcuni esempi con rappresentazioni di oggetti del *mundus* femminile sono raccolti in M. BUONOCORE, *Monumenti funerari romani con decorazione ad Alba Fucens*, *MEFRA* 94 (1982), p. 727-734 (l'autore evita però ogni illustrazione degli oggetti rappresentati).

Per il territorio limitrofo dei Marsi si veda: C. LETTA - S. D'AMATO, *Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi*, Milano 1975, *passim*; I. VALDISERRI PAOLETTI, *Cippi funerari cilindrici dal territorio di Marruvium*, *RAL* ser. VIII 35 (1980), p. 193sgg.

V. anche A. DE MARCHI, *Mestieri, professioni, uffici nelle figurazioni sepolcrali della latinità pagana specialmente delle raccolte milanesi*, *RIL* ser. II 38 (B), 1905, p. 1021-1036 (*passim*); H. GUMMERUS, *Darstellungen aus dem Handwerk auf römischen Grab- und Votivsteinen in Italien*, *JDAI* 28 (1913), p. 63-126 (*passim*).

² F. DE VISSCHER, *Les fouilles d'Alba Fucens*, IX. *Epigraphie*, *AC* 24 (1955), p. 74 n. 28; *AE* 1955 p. 165 e *AE* 1974, n. 308. Attualmente i frammenti sono conservati in un magazzino nel Castello di Celano.

tava la cornice sagomata e un buco di fissazione per un elemento metallico. Questo coronamento era probabilmente piuttosto basso come quello di altre stele di *Alba Fucens*³.

Dimensioni conservate della stele: larghezza: m. 0,57; spessore: m. 0,19 - 0,20.

Specchio epigrafico: larghezza: m. 0,465; l'altezza era di almeno m. 0,42 - 0,43, ma più probabilmente era uguale o anche superiore alla larghezza; così dobbiamo probabilmente supporre la mancanza di almeno una o, più probabilmente, di più righe dell'iscrizione.

Altezza delle lettere: l. 1: cm. 4; l. 2: cm. 5; ll. 3-4: cm. 3,8-4; l. 5: cm. 4,5; ll. 6-7(?): cm. 4.

[D(is) M(anibus)] S(acrum)
 [...]nio Martiali
 [qui?] vixit annis XVII
 [...]nius Marcellus
 [filio/fratri?] pientissimo p. p(ater) o p(osuit)?
 [...]nius Fe[- 6/7 lett. -]
 _____?
 Praenesstinus

Il De Visscher⁴ restituisce, a nostro avviso a ragione, lo stesso *nomen gentilicium* alle linee 2 e 4. Entro lo specchio epigrafico rimane lo spazio per 3 o 4 lettere, cosicché, se era presente l'abbreviazione del *praenomen*, il *nomen gentilicium* doveva essere molto breve. Il De Visscher propone [*No*]nius, già attestato ad *Alba Fucens*⁵, ma molte altre possibilità possono essere prese in considerazione, dato che le persone in questione forse non sono originarie di questa città, come vedremo in seguito⁶.

Nella linea 5 rimane incerta l'indicazione della parentela: *filio* o *fratri*. Nel primo caso la *p* finale può essere l'abbreviazione sia di *p(ater)* che di *p(osuit)*.

³ V. p.e. *CIL* IX 3980 e 3987 (anche qui si notano buchi di fissazione per elementi metallici). Per altri possibili tipi di coronamento si veda C. LETTA - S. D'AMATO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), nn. 95, 96 (= *CIL* IX 3720, 3701, da Pescina).

⁴ V. nota 2.

⁵ Oltre a [*No*]nius sono attestati altri *nomina gentilicia* ad *Alba Fucens* che potrebbero colmare la lacuna: [*Ma*]nius, [*Apo*]nius, [*Ver*]nius; si veda M. BUONOCORE, *Considerazioni sulle iscrizioni latine di Alba Fucens*, *ZPE* 52 (1983), p. 183-201.

⁶ Sono possibili p.e.: [*Ae*]nius, [*An*]nius, [*Gra*]nius, [*Iu*]nius, [*Ni(n)*]nius, etc. Inoltre, alla luce di quanto seguirà, si potrebbe pensare a *nomina gentilicia* attestati a *Praeneste*: [*Ati*]nius (*CIL* XIV 2850), [*Cei*]nius (*CIL* XIV 2852), [*Petro*]nius (*CIL* XIV 2877, 2964), [*Gega*]nius (*CIL* XIV 2953).

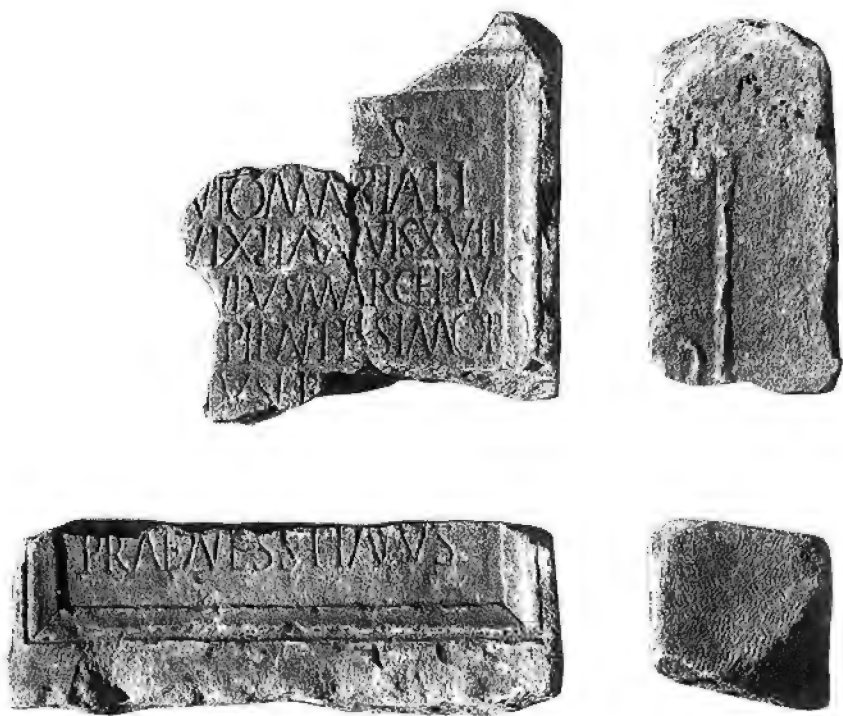


Fig. 1
 Celano, Castello: frammenti della stele funeraria *AE* 1974,
 n. 308 (lato frontale e fianco destro).



Fig. 2
Celano, Castello: particolare del fianco
destro della stele funeraria
AE 1974, n. 308.

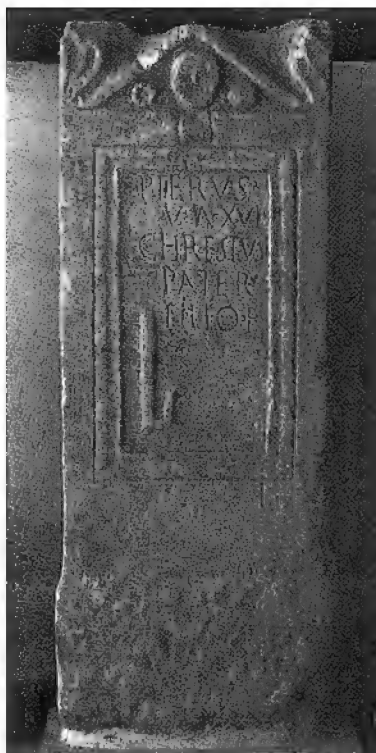


Fig. 3
L'Aquila, Museo Nazionale
d'Abruzzo: stele funeraria da
Civitatomassa
(da S. Segenni).



Fig. 4

Sulmona, Museo Civico: rilievo con scena pastorale (particolare).



Fig. 5

Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano: sarcofago dalla Via Tiburtina, loc. Aguzzano (fianco destro) (da G. Wilpert).

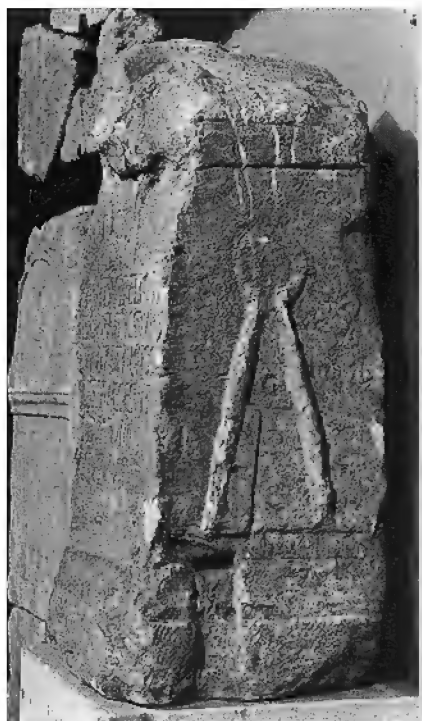


Fig. 6-7

Avezzano, Museo Civico: fianchi dell'ara funeraria *CIL* IX 4024.

Il resto dell'iscrizione è molto problematico. Si tratta di un *nomen* e di un *cognomen* alla linea 6: p.e. [...]*Jius Fe[li]x?*] - *Fe[st]inus?*], e in questo caso in che rapporto si trova questo personaggio con le persone precedenti? Quante righe mancano dopo la linea 6? Qual'è il significato preciso di *Praenesstinus* (*cognomen* o indicazione di origine)?⁷

La messa in evidenza nell'ultima riga del termine *Praenesstinus* potrebbe anche far pensare a una formula finale per attirare l'attenzione sul fatto che il giovane *Martialis* era deceduto lontano dalla sua terra di origine⁸. Difatti la lacuna dopo la linea 6 può abbracciare fino a 4 (o anche 5) righe.

Alcuni indizi permettono di collocare l'epigrafe nel II o nella transizione II/III secolo d.C.⁹.

Sul fianco del frammento superiore destro vediamo la rappresentazione incompleta di un oggetto a prima vista insolito: un'asta verticale lunga (altezza conservata: m 0,23) affiancata nel basso a sinistra da una bacchetta ricurva (fig. 2). Molto probabilmente si tratta dello stesso oggetto che vediamo rappresentato interamente sulla stele funeraria del giovane *Pierus*, morto a 16 anni, rinvenuta nel 1954 in territorio amitermino a Civitatomassa, l'antica *Foruli*, ed ora conservata nel Museo Nazionale di L'Aquila (fig. 3)¹⁰. In questo caso l'oggetto, con la bacchetta inferiore rivolta verso destra, è messo in evidenza all'interno dello specchio epigrafico, nell'angolo inferiore sinistro. Nella monografia su *Amiternum* di Simonetta Segenni questo oggetto viene genericamente identificato come «attrezzo agricolo». Altri confronti iconografici, però, permettono non solo di completare ma soprattutto di identificare l'attrezzo in questione. Difatti lo stesso oggetto ricorre regolarmente non in scene agricole ma in scene di pastorizia, come nel ben noto rilievo di età tardorepubblicana nel Museo Civico di Sulmona

⁷ I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, p. 182: «*Praenestinus/a*: REPUB. Q. Anicius Praenestinus, aed. 304, RE I, 2196; SEN. a man, a woman; CIL men 13 + a freedman (VI), seven women; CHRIST. X 1230 (Abella, woman); *Praeneste*».

⁸ V. p.e. G. ANNIBALDI, *Regio V (Abruzzo) - Contributo al CIL. Iscrizioni inedite nei musei di Corfinio e di Sulmona*, *Epigraphica* 20 (1958), p. 20-21 e fig. 7.

⁹ La formula abbreviata: *[D.M.]S.*, la formula: *[qui] vixit*, il termine: *pientissimus*, sono fra gli indizi per questa datazione; si veda: G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, p. 27-30; M. CLAUS, *Zur Datierung stadtrömischen Inschriften: tituli militum praetorianorum*, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), p. 55-95; H. SOLIN, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, Helsinki 1971, p. 35-38.

¹⁰ S. SEGENNI, *Amiternum e il suo territorio in età romana*, Pisa 1985, p. 180 e tav. XXXIV, 1.

(fig. 4)¹¹ e su sarcofagi romani o paleocristiani (fig. 5)¹². Qui vediamo il bastone ricurvo, o *pedum*, come appoggio per il pastore, cioè in posizione «di riposo», che corrisponde anche alla posizione sulle stele di *Alba Fucens* e di *Foruli*. La parte inferiore ricurva, però, ha una funzione ben precisa: prendere pecore che vogliono allontanarsi¹³.

Vista la mancanza della maggior parte del lato sinistro della pietra, non si sa nulla di un'eventuale rappresentazione sul fianco sinistro della stele, ma in altre stele del territorio albense vediamo soltanto oggetti rappresentati sul fianco destro¹⁴, contrariamente a quanto avviene in territorio marso¹⁵. Il *pedum* è già abbastanza significativo per il mestiere del defunto ed è anche l'unico oggetto che compare sulla stele amiternina già menzionata.

Il giovane *Martialis*, e probabilmente anche i parenti e/o compagni che posero la pietra, erano dunque coinvolti nell'attività pastorizia. Malgrado le estese divisioni agrarie nel territorio albense¹⁶, la pastorizia vi costituiva senz'altro ancora un settore economico importante. La documentazione a questo proposito è finora alquanto sparsa e incoerente. Come testimonianza epigrafica viene di solito ricordato il cippo funerario del giovane *Avidius Felix*, recante sul fianco destro la rappresentazione di una cesoia per tosare ovini (*forfex*) (fig. 6) e sul fianco opposto di una pietra per affilare (fig. 7)¹⁷. Anche in altri casi il *forfex* appare come indicazione di pastore¹⁸. Un legame con la pastorizia

¹¹ M. BESNIER, *Monuments figurés du pays des Péligniens*, Bull. & Mém. Soc. Nat. Antiq. France, ser. VII 1 (1900), p. 245-249, pl. XIX; recentemente in V. CIANFARANI - L. FRANCHI DELL'ORTO - A. LA REGINA, *Culture adriatiche antiche di Abruzzo e di Molise*, Roma 1978, p. 567, e in E. GABBA - M. PASQUINUCCI, *Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana (III-I sec. a.C.)*, Pisa 1979, p. 179 e fig. 28.

¹² E.g. il sarcofago della Via Tiburtina, loc. Aguzzano, nel Museo Nazionale delle Terme: M. SAPELLI, in A. GIULIANO (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I*, 8/1, Roma 1985, p. 5-10; v. anche G. WILPERT, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi III*, Roma 1936, p. 3 sgg., tavv. CCLXVIII,4 e CCLXX,4.

¹³ E. SAGLIO, art. *Pedum*, in *DS IV*, 1 (1907), p. 368-369.

¹⁴ *CIL IX* 3992 (v. *AC* 50, 1981, tav. IIIc), 4001 e *AE* 1974, n. 309.

¹⁵ Cf. C. LETTA - S. D'AMATO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), nn. 95 e 96 (= *CIL IX* 3720 e 3701).

¹⁶ Per le divisioni agrarie in territorio albense si veda oggi G. CHOUQUER, M. CLAVEL-LÉVÊQUE, F. FAVORY, J.-P. VALLAT, *Structures agraires en Italie centro-méridionale. Cadastres et paysages ruraux* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 100), Roma 1987, p. 130 sgg.

¹⁷ *CIL IX* 4024; v. anche L. ORLANDI, *I Marsi e l'origine di Avezzano*, Napoli 1967, p. 256, n. 4.

¹⁸ Cf. I. VALDISERRI PAOLETTI, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 203 e tav. IV, 14-15; G. PACI, *Nuovi documenti epigrafici della necropoli romana di Corfinio*, *Epigraphica* 42 (1980), p. 44 n. 23 (con bibl.). Inoltre si veda p.e. L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, p. 206 e tav. XXVIII,3.

possono anche avere gli *ex voto* rappresentanti animali, sia in bronzo che in terracotta, rinvenuti nella stipe del tempio di Apollo di *Alba Fucens*¹⁹. Infine è molto significativo il culto di Ercole e soprattutto il sacello di Ercole in una piazza di *Alba Fucens* che può essere identificato come un *forum pecuarium*²⁰.

Nel caso della stele di *Martialis*, qui presa in esame, assume una particolare importanza la menzione *Praenesstinus* che compare nell'ultima riga. Anche se il contenuto esatto della parte terminale dell'epigrafe rimane incerto (v. sopra), è molto probabile che si siano voluto mettere in evidenza legami con il territorio prenestino. Forse non è troppo azzardato supporre che abbiamo a che fare qui con una testimonianza concreta sulla presenza di pastori laziali e più particolarmente prenestini nell'Appennino centrale. Se la città di *Praeneste* non era nota in primo luogo come centro di allevamento, questa attività certamente non vi era senza importanza, situata com'era a ridosso di una zona montagnosa ricca di pascoli. Inoltre fra le dediche rinvenute nel santuario prenestino della *Fortuna Primigenia* ne troviamo una fatta da un collegio de *mercatores pequarii*²¹. Un mercato di ovini viene localizzato al margine della città bassa, nei pressi di un'importante santuario di Ercole²².

La presenza di pastori prenestini in territorio albense non può sorprendere. La zona di pascoli, che comincia alle spalle di *Praeneste*, continua per così dire senza interruzione fino alle sponde del Fucino, attraverso i Monti Simbruini²³. Questo territorio, dove si stabilirono gli Equi, era fino a poco tempo fa relativamente trascurato dalle ricerche, ma l'importanza dell'alta valle dell'Aniene (Filettino, Trevi del Lazio) come arteria di comunicazione e di transumanza fra la zona del Fucino e la pianura laziale è fuori dubbio²⁴. La complementarietà tra i

¹⁹ F. DE VISSCHER - J. MERTENS, *Alba Fucens. Notizie sommarie sugli scavi eseguiti nel 1955*, NSA 82 (1957), p. 168-170; J. MERTENS, *Deux temples italiques à Alba Fucens*, in *Alba Fucens II*, Brussel - Roma 1969, p. 21 e tav. VIIIa.

²⁰ Cf. F. COARELLI - A. LA REGINA, *Abruzzo-Molise (Guide Arch. Laterza, 9)*, Roma - Bari 1984, p. 87.

²¹ CIL XIV 2878 = CIL I.2 1450 = ILS 3683c. Cf. G. MICKWITZ, art. *Pecuarii*, in RE XIX 1 (1937), c. 12-13; A. DEGRASSI, *Epigraphica IV*, RAL ser. VIII 14,2 (1969), p. 121 n. 28 (= *Studi su Praeneste*, Perugia 1978, p. 157).

²² F. COARELLI, *Lazio (Guide Arch. Laterza, 5)*, Roma - Bari 1982, p. 155; cf. CIL XIV 2891-94.

²³ Cf. *Carta della utilizzazione del suolo d'Italia*, Foglio 14, Milano 1960.

²⁴ Cf. M. A. TOMEI, *Ricerche nel territorio degli Equi: la valle dell'Aniene*, in *QuadAEl* 5 (Arch. Laz. IV), Roma 1981, p. 83-90; M. G. TROCCOLI, *La valle dell'Aniene in età romana*, in *QuadAEl* 11 (Arch. Laz. VII,1), Roma 1985, p. 175-177.

pascoli di montagna dell'Appennino centrale e quelli della pianura laziale traspare chiaramente nelle vicende storiche degli Equi, Marsi, Volsci ed altri popoli centro-italici dal V secolo a.C. in poi²⁵. In seguito, cioè a partire dalla fine dell'età repubblicana, la transumanza degli abitanti della zona del Fucino, come degli altri popoli sabellici, sembra dirigersi sempre più verso l'Adriatico e la Puglia e meno verso il Lazio²⁶. Però i collegamenti di transumanza fra gli altipiani intorno al Monte Velino e la pianura laziale forse non caddero mai in disuso²⁷. Ne troviamo ancora tracce nell'Alto Medioevo: la diffusione della venerazione di S. Vittorino, vescovo di *Amiternum*, nella valle dell'Aniene e fino nei pressi di Tivoli; la presenza di cittadini amitermini a Tivoli notata in documenti del 965 e del 1000²⁸. Ed anche oggi la transumanza è documentata tra la pianura laziale e l'aquilano²⁹.

La stele funeraria che abbiamo esaminata costituisce dunque una testimonianza non trascurabile, di età imperiale, dei contatti fra la pianura laziale e il lembo nordoccidentale dell'Abruzzo, sui quali le ricerche in corso porteranno senz'altro ulteriori chiarimenti.

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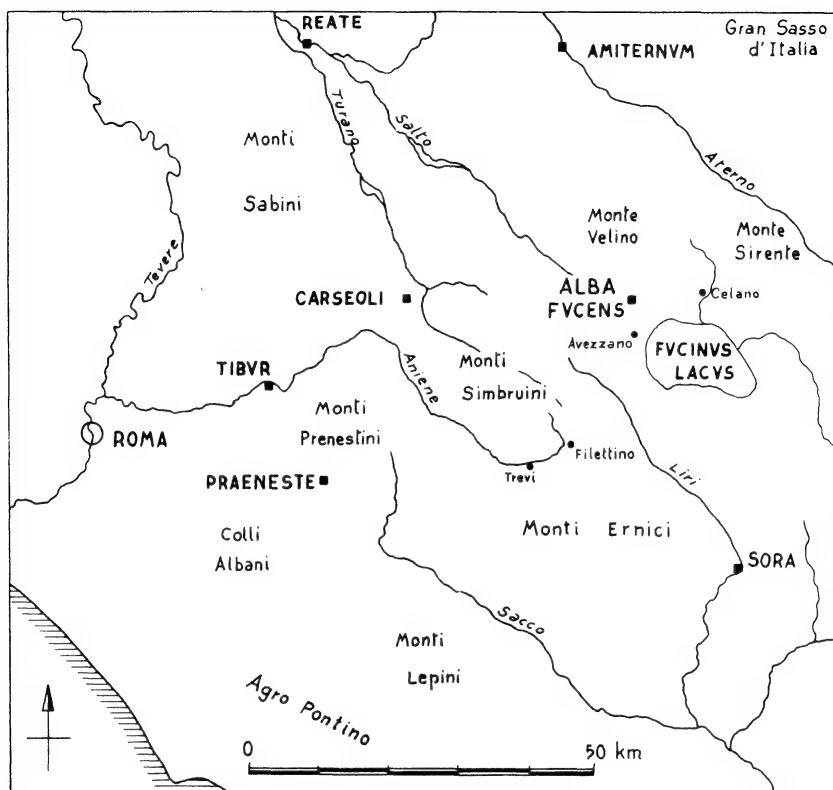
²⁵ Cf. A. ALFÖLDI, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor 1971, *passim*; C. LETTA, *I Marsi e il Fucino nell'antichità*, Milano 1972, *passim*.

²⁶ C. LETTA, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 52, 87 sgg.

²⁷ Cf. E. GABBA - M. PASQUINUCCI, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 152-155.

²⁸ Cf. F. SCIARETTA, *Contributi alla conoscenza della preistoria e protostoria di Tivoli e del suo territorio*, AST 42 (1969), p. 51 n. 36 e 110.

²⁹ E. MIGLIORINI, *Memoria illustrativa della carta della utilizzazione del suolo del Lazio*, Roma 1973, p. 243.



ANCIENT ROBBERS: REFLECTIONS BEHIND THE FACTS

Robbers and bandits have been discovered as objects worthy of serious historical interest since Hobsbawm published his *Bandits* and *Primitive Rebels*¹. With respect to classical antiquity Dmitrev had already saluted the ancient robbers as brothers in the eternal class-struggle², whereas MacMullen only classified them as one species of the enemies of the Roman order³. Earlier he had already called attention to the use of 'robber' to denote an imperial usurper⁴. From a literary point of view ancient robbers have been discussed as a common means to bring about sudden changes in the story of a novel, as *diaboli ex machina*: by their actions lovers are separated and transported to exotic countries⁵. Was this merely or mainly fiction which had nothing to do with the realities of living in antiquity, as Bleicken holds? He compares ancient brigandage with crime in the modern world which people come across mainly in films and not in daily life⁶.

While looking for the facts about robbery in the Greco-Roman world one becomes aware of so many reflections on the phenomenon in fiction, rhetoric and philosophy that it seems necessary to look into the problem of perception more closely before going ahead with the study of the cases⁷. These cases are frequently described in a 'topical' way which echoes the reflections. Sometimes the robbers of attested cases act in a 'topical' way; they 'authenticate' the *topoi* of ancient banditry. A study of the topics of ancient robbery as it is attempted in this paper,

¹ E. J. HOBSBAWM, *Bandits*, Harmondsworth 1972; *Primitive Rebels*, Manchester 1974⁴. The most recent paper on Roman banditry is B. D. SHAW, *Bandits in the Roman Empire*, *P & P* 105 (1984), p. 3-52.

² A. D. DMITREV, *VDI* 4 (1951), p. 61-72.

³ R. MACMULLEN, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1966, p. 255ff.: Appendix B: Brigandage.

⁴ R. MACMULLEN, *The Roman Concept Robber-Pretender*, *RIDA* 10 (1963), p. 221-225.

⁵ P. A. MACKAY, *Kleptika*, *G & R* 10 (1963), p. 147-152.

⁶ J. BLEICKEN, *Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte des Römischen Kaiserreiches* II, Paderborn 1978, p. 67.

⁷ A first attempt to describe ancient robbery in the terms of Hobsbawm's concept of 'social banditry' is my *Latrones famosi*, *Lampas* 15 (1982), p. 171-194 (in Dutch, with an English summary). B. D. SHAW, *P & P* 105 (1984), n. 7, is right in criticizing Hobsbawm's vagueness in distinguishing between realities and perception.

may help to discern fiction in the facts⁸. The main interest is the activity of robbers operating in a gang with their field of action in the countryside, in Latin the *latrones*⁹.

THE ROBBER AS AN EVIL

Many cultures regard the bandit as the representative of disorder. In this respect the Greco-Roman world shares the common outlook of civilization.

In paradise there existed no fear of a thief or a robber, as St. Augustine assures¹⁰. Here robber (*adgressor*) stands for the force of *chaos*. Before civilization there was disorder everywhere: peace is finally brought by the ruler «who freed the land from thieves, robbers and rebels»¹¹. Hammurabi made communities responsible for acts of robbery committed on their territory (*CH* 23,24), in accordance with a principle also existing in medieval England¹². Egyptian lamentations about troubled times signalize the emergence of robbers who are not being checked by a powerful lord: «Crime is everywhere, there is no man of yesterday. Lo, the robber is everywhere»¹³. But how the lord is praised who fights chaos: «he is the one restoring order by punishing the robbers»¹⁴. In Egypt the endemic social disease of banditry always emerges when the central authority fails in its task to establish order¹⁵.

⁸ The Roman material is more promising than the Greek sources, not only in the amount of instances, but also in finer distinctions of usage concerning robbery. Where the Greeks speak indiscriminately of ληστής, Latin has *fur*, *grassator*, *viator*, *adgressor*, *praedo*, and *latro*. The Greek distinguishes as a species the λωποδύτης, the man who steals clothes or plunders travellers (Plato, *Pol.* 575b; Xen., *Apomn.* I 2.62; Arist., *Pol.* I 267a4; Jos., *BJ* IV 3.4).

⁹ The idea of *latrones* operating in a gang (*factio*) is so common that it furnished Ammianus Marcellinus with a point of comparison: the wealthy Romans of his time parade through the city with groups of servants «like robber-gangs» (XIV 6.16). I became fascinated by Roman robbers when I suggested the subject to one of my students for a thesis (F. H. M. van CAMPEN, *Latrocinium*, Nijmegen 1978).

¹⁰ *De Genesi ad litteram* 8.10: *metuebatur...nullus fur, nullus adgressor*.

¹¹ Said of Ur-Nammu: G. ROUX, *Ancient Iraq*, Harmondsworth 1980², p. 155.

¹² Statute of Winchester: «...And if the country will not answer for criminals in this way, the penalty shall be such that each country — that is to say, the people living in the country — shall be responsible for the robberies committed and the dangers» (C. STEPHENSON - F. G. MARCHAM, *Sources of English Constitutional History*, p. 173-174).

¹³ A. H. GARDINER, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, p. 109; H. FRANKFORT, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, New York 1980 (= 1948), p. 85; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, Berkeley 1975, p. 151.

¹⁴ 'The Eloquent Peasant', see M. LICHTHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 171, ll. 15-20; see also ll. 140-145: «High Steward, my lord ... Punish the robber, save the sufferer».

¹⁵ E.g. *BGU* I 325 (3rd century A.D.) contains an order to thief-catchers (ληστοπιασ-ται) to join up with the village officials and hunt out the criminals (κακούργοι).

Robbery as the sign of a chaotic situation changed for the better by a vigorous leader is signalized in different historical contexts. Before the actions of Deborah and Jael the roads of Israel were empty (*Judges* 5:6). In the days of William the Conqueror, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, «any honest man could travel over his kingdom without injury with his bosom full of gold», whereas during the reign of Stephen (1135-1154) there was insecurity everywhere: «If two or three men came riding to a village, all the villagers fled, because they expected they would be robbers».

The highest ruler of all, the Caesar, is expected to restore order. The medieval Archipoeta singing about the corpses of robbers swinging in the wind as they hang from the gallows echoes the ancient trust put into the «numen Caesaris» as the restorer of the *Pax* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*¹⁶. The Roman Empire with its high degree of «Staatlichkeit» claims as its fundamental *raison d'être* to have established and maintained peace. The instructions to provincial administrators remind them constantly of their duty to check robbery¹⁷.

The Roman Empire represents in the highest degree the triumph of civilization over chaos, but already the world of the *poleis* felt it had overcome the disorder of archaic times. Thucydides is astounded that in the Homeric world one could ask a guest whether he lived from piracy without risking to be offensive¹⁸. In Thucydides' concept of evolution, increased civilization is marked by a decrease of chaotic phenomena such as robbery and piracy¹⁹. In this respect he expresses the ideas current in Athens: the rule of the laws overcomes previously existing chaos. Herodotus and Sophocles play upon the same feelings²⁰. But in the sixth century Solon permitted the Athenians to associate as merchants or as pirates without any sign of disapproving difference be-

¹⁶ *Met.* VII 7.4: *Denique noluisset esse Caesar Haemi latronis collegium, et confestim interivit; tantum potest nutus etiam magni principis.* The Archipoeta sings: *Cesaris est gloria, Cesaris est donum, / quod iam patent omnibus viae regionum, / dum ventis exposita corpora latronum / surda flantis boreae captant aure sonum.*

¹⁷ E.g. Marcianus, *Dig.* XLVIII 13.4.2: *Mandatis autem cavetur de sacrilegis, ut praesides sacrilegos latrones plagarios conquirant.*

¹⁸ Thuc. I 5; *Od.* III 69ff. and IX 252. For piracy in the ancient world: H. A. ORMEROD, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, Liverpool 1978 (= 1924).

¹⁹ J. de ROMILLY, *Thucydide et l'idée de progrès*, *ASNP* 35 (1966), p. 143-191.

²⁰ Hdt. I 97: when Deioceus refused to act any longer as an arbitrator the country fell victim to robbery and disorder. In Soph., *Antig.* 332-375, security and living in society in accordance with the laws are hailed as some of the δεινὰ brought about by man.

tween the former and the latter activity as long as they acted outside the country²¹.

The identification of robbers as a phenomenon belonging to the world before civilization is one of the reasons why a modern historian who is looking for social banditry as defined by Hobsbawm gets confused. *Latrocinium* and the like not just cover «endemic peasant protest against oppression and poverty»²². The abusive connotations have to do with the linking of robbery to the world of barbarians operating *before* or *outside* the domain of the *oikoumene*.

In an almost technical sense *latrocinari* and ληστεύω denote the way in which uncivilized people fight. They do not engage in formal battle. Their chaotic hit-and-run actions are the mark of their primitiveness and lack of social order.

The enemies who stood in the way of Rome's dominance are often said to apply mean methods of fighting; their guerilla-tactics are the way of robbers, *per latrocinia militiam exercere*²³. Especially in the dirty wars which the Romans fought in Hispania their opponents are often accused of being robbers²⁴. After the establishment of order by Rome the note of moral indignation linked to the usage of *latrones* and the like intensifies. Fronto regards only the Parthians, with their civilized warfare, as *hostes*, whereas other opponents of the Roman Empire are styled *latrones*. A *tumultus* becomes a *bellum* when the opponents (robbers or fugitive slaves) by their numbers and degree of organization force the central authority to take drastic measures, as in the case of the *Bellum Spartacium* and the Jewish War²⁵.

²¹ Solon frg. 76a Ruschenbusch (= 342a Martina): «What a deme, the members of a phratry...when going abroad for plunder or trade agree among themselves, is valid if public regulations do not oppose».

²² *Primitive Rebels*, p. 5.

²³ Livy XXI 35.2, XXVIII 12.9, XXIX 6.2.

²⁴ Sallust on one of the Spanish tribes: *genus militum suetum a pueritia latrocinii* (*Hist.* II frg. 88 Maurenbrecher; cf. frg. 92).

²⁵ *Principia historiae* 7; see W. HOBEN, *Terminologische Studien zu den Sklavenerhebungen der römischen Republik (Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei, 9)*, Wiesbaden 1978; M.-Th. RAPSÄET-CHARLIER, *Notes sur la guerre de Spartacus*, ACD 17-18 (1981-1982), p. 83-97. Activities preceding and following a rebellion deserving the predicate 'war' are denoted as *latrocinia*: see Diodorus on the first Sicilian slave war (book XXXIV/XXXV). In Josephus' *Jewish War* hated rebels are called robbers (V 9.4, I 21.4, II 17.8-9) but many a time the term of abuse seems justified in the light of the career of Simon, son of Giora (II 22.2), Judas, son of Ezechias (II 4.1), and Johannes of Gischala (II 21.1). In the aftermath of the war the rebels and the associates of robber-gangs fled to the mountains of Galilee (II 18.11). Josephus has many instances of 'pure' banditry (I 16, II 12.2-4 & 13.2 about Eleazar). See also his *Life* 21, 28, 46, 77, 145, 206.

Especially in the outer zones of the Roman Empire it is impossible to distinguish banditry as an «endemic social disease» from barbaric ways of traditional life maintained by local people. Here the 'interstices' of the archaic state are apparent. The inhabitants of the Syrian desert had such a reputation as robbers that the provincial governor thought it an easy method of eliminating Christians who had gone to the desert in apocalyptic extasy, by saying they were *latrones*²⁶. A similar ambivalent situation can be found in North Africa: there Marcus Sulpicius Felix won the respect of all by securing the free use of woods and lands. He was watching frequently over the protection of the workers²⁷.

The most complicated situation we come across existed in the Balkan region. The *latrones* who killed Aelius Ariortus and Iulius Bassus in Dacia are to be regarded as autochthonous barbarians²⁸, but in another inscription a woman is mentioned as having been killed by one *latro* which suggests an 'ordinary' criminal²⁹. In Inner as well as Outer Moesia *latrones* may have been responsible for the death of Valerius Marcus, Flavius Kapito and the unknown individual who was killed together with his son Diupagisa³⁰. When local authority could not handle the situation the Emperor sent in the military; there was no police to fill the gap between state and local community.

Marcus Valerius Maximianus acted in the years 176-179 as a *praepositus vexillationibus et at detrahendam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedon(iae) et Thrac(iae)*³¹. Thracia was one of the pockets of barbarism inside the Roman world where tribes were always waiting for a chance to make incursions into the inhabited world. In the region where Spartacus had already operated as a *latro*³², Maximinus Thrax acquired a reputation in his youth by ambushing «latrones» and thus liberating his people from *incursiones*³³.

Here as well as in the Alps *latrocinium* was a way of life which was never completely stamped out and could always erupt when authority

²⁶ Hippolytus, *Comm. in Dan.* 4.18.

²⁷ *AE* 1931, 38.

²⁸ *CIL* III 1559 = 8009 and 1579.

²⁹ *CIL* III 1585 = 8021.

³⁰ *CIL* III 14587 = *ILS* 8504; *AE* 1934, 209; *CIL* III 14574; another victim of unspecified *latrones* is Scerviaedus Sitaes in *CIL* III 8242.

³¹ *AE* 1956, 124; for his dates see G. ALFÖLDY, *Situla* 14-15 (1974), p. 210.

³² Florus II 8.8. Thrace is the country of robbers, already in Xen., *Anab.* VII 7.9, where Medorades is accused of living from robbery before entering into friendship with the Greeks.

³³ SHA, *Max.* 2.1.

failed. Despite all the efforts of Augustus and later attempts to integrate the tribes into the civilization of the cities, Lucius Atilius fell victim to the bandits *in loco quod appellatur sceleratus*³⁴. In this region we find the *praefecti latrocinii arcendis*³⁵. In spite of these St. Martin, during his journey from Gallia to Italia, had an unpleasant meeting with robbers in the Alps who would have killed him if the saint had not succeeded in converting one of them³⁶.

In short, everywhere 'bandits' could leave their holes «like serpents in the spring» as Ammianus says of the Isaurians³⁷. An inscription in their country commemorates a successful operation by Bassidius who conquered a *castellum diu ante a latronibus possessum et provinciis perniciosum*³⁸. The satisfaction about the act of restoring civilization is apparent.

On the banks of the Danube there can be no doubt about the identity of the robbers as invading barbarians. Commodus erected his *burgi* and stationed troops in places which were suited *ad clandestinos latrunculorum transitus*³⁹. Why is it that these robbers are spoken of in the diminutive *latrunculi*? Is this only the well-known preference of late Latin for fuller words? Also during the reign of Constantius and Constans (337-340) this word *latrunculi* is being used⁴⁰. Or is the word chosen to express contempt in a curious way of charming the danger by denoting it in innocent language? Also the language of plastic art tries to ward off the danger posed by the barbarian invaders by representing them as demonic forces. There is a remarkable difference in the way Trajan's column represents the enemy as a respectable opponent and

³⁴ About Augustus' measures: Suet., *Aug.* 32 and Strabo IV 6.6-8; an attempt to integrate the tribes in the neighbourhood of Triest in *ILS* 6679.

³⁵ *CIL* XIII 5010 = *ILS* 7007; *CIL* XIII 6211; a recent text in F. MOTTAS, *Un nouveau notable de la Colonie Equestre*, *ArchS* 1 (1978), p. 134ff.; also in G. WALSER, *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz* II 247 (B. D. Shaw missed this one in his article in *P & P* 105, 1984, n. 26).

In Italy we find the *praepositus* or *agens super* / *at latrunculum*: *CIL* V 41, IX 334 (= *ILS* 2768), XI 6336 (= *ILS* 2769), VIII 26582, *AE* 1911, 128 (= *ILS* 9201), *CIL* XI 6107 (= *ILS* 509); see for Caesonius Bassus: S. PANCIERA, *Epigraphica* 28 (1966), p. 34.

³⁶ Sulp. Sev., *Vita Mart.* 5.

³⁷ Amm. Marc. XIX 14.2.

³⁸ *CIL* III 6733.

³⁹ *CIL* III 3385 = *ILS* 395. Eleven of such *burgi Commodiani* are attested in inscriptions: see *Dizionario epigrafico*, s.v. *latrones*. A later one (AD 256) in *CIL* III 12376.

⁴⁰ *CIL* III 12483.

the devils Marcus Aurelius had to fight according to the sculptors of his pillar. This climate of demonizing the barbarians of the Danube region makes it highly improbable that there is a link between the Roman *ludus latrunculorum* and the Danubian *latrunculi* as the *Dizionario Epigrafico* asserts⁴¹.

Latro cum annexis in its primary sense comprises several forms of being robber and accordingly evokes several emotions. These different senses are exploited in the metaphorical usage connected with *latrocinium* as we shall see. The general idea is that robbers are people who do not belong to the civilized world. In this sense there is a deeper meaning in what Achilles Tatius says about the robbers in his novel: ἔβαρβαρίζον δὲ πάντες⁴².

'ROBBER' AS A TERM OF ABUSE

The *latro* or ληστής is the criminal *extremo sensu*. He is meaner than a thief, the killing of whom is permitted by the *Leges XII Tabularum*⁴³. A robber should be regarded as a manifest thief and as such he should be subject to immediate killing or arrest by the first comer, as happened to the emperor Macrinus in AD 218⁴⁴. The *latro* exemplifies the distinction between crimes which are committed *impetu* and *proposito*: «Wilful crimes are committed by robbers who form a gang»⁴⁵. Therefore they deserve the most infame punishment: wild beasts, hanging from the *furca*, and crucifixion. In a cruel joke Serapis saved a robber from ruin by sending him a warning dream, only to save him for crucifixion⁴⁶. The nadir of improbity must be represented by those who are styled robbers even by robbers, the Bessi of Illyria⁴⁷. On the other

⁴¹ *Diz. epigr.* IV, 1, p. 465: «Anche il *latrunculi* del *ludus latrunculorum* ... sono da intendere nel senso di barbari assalitori». But the Roman robber-game is attested long before the *burgi Commodiani*; already players in Pompeii call themselves *latruncularii* in a derivative of the diminutive *latrunculus* (*CIL* IV 7851). The robbers of the game are simply little ones because of size and harmlessness. The word *latrunculus* in the inscriptions of the *burgi Commodiani* stems from another, autonomous development. Sources for the game: Sen., *Tranq.* 14.7; Varro, *LL* X 22 (a very early testimony); *Laus Pis.* 173ff; Ovid, *Trist.* II 478; Mart. VII 72.8 and XIV 18 (20); SHA, *Proc.* 13.2.

⁴² III 9.2.

⁴³ *Si nox furtum faxsit, si im occisit iure caesus esto*; cf. *Codex Theod.* IX 14.2; *Dig.* II 4 pr. and IX 2.4.

⁴⁴ *Dig.* XLVI 2.82; Cassius Dio LXXIX 40.4.

⁴⁵ *Dig.* XLVIII 19.11.2.

⁴⁶ Strabo VI 2.6 C27; Diod. Sic. XXXVI 10-12; Aur. Victor 41.12; Suet., *Cal.* 30.2; Jos., *AJ* XIX 1.13; Petr. 111, 112; Sen., *Ep.* VII 5.

⁴⁷ Strabo VII 5.12 C318.

hand, it is to be regarded as the summit of clemency that an amnesty is extended even to robbers⁴⁸. The fable which asked for a «bad man» contrasting with the soft character of the mulberry tree finds him in the bandit who «had killed a man on the highway»⁴⁹. The bandit is the worst of mankind. It is the first task of the judicial authorities to fight banditism; in a poem of the *Anthologia Palatina* (XI 280) the criminal court of Hegemon is styled «bandit-killing» (but is still to be preferred to the hands of Gennadios the surgeon!).

Words as robber, robbery and the like can be used metaphorically to express indignation: all kinds of misbehavior are said to have been done «in the way of robbers» in Egyptian papyri⁵⁰. Even petty crime is denoted as having been done ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ; nine sheep were sheared and three stolen. The robber furnishes the poet with an antipole of the decent human being, as an *anti-man*: even robbers should not rape the ugly Saenia⁵¹. The robbers of the Alpine peaks grease themselves with the fat that covers the kidneys to escape the watch-dogs. Thus this meanest species of mankind exemplifies the dictum «every man to his trade»⁵². Bandits (like pervers, parricides and tyrants) give in to their passions to the highest degree⁵³.

The motives of the *latro* for his criminal behaviour are of the lowest kind; just for the sake of profit he sins against the traveller⁵⁴. A robber cannot even be trusted by a colleague, as is exemplified in an Aesopian fable⁵⁵. When Plutarch expresses his indignation about the superstitious he uses the robber as the extreme of human existence: a robber can find asylum whereas there is no escape for the *deisidaimoon*⁵⁶. In this and similar usage the robber constitutes *the limit of human behaviour*.

⁴⁸ By Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II and III: *P. Tebt.* I 5.

⁴⁹ Aes. 152 (Perry).

⁵⁰ *P. Lond.* II p. 272 l. 10, 276 l. 7, 279 l. 6-7, 280 l. 9; *P. Oxy.* XII 1465 l. 3; *P. Thead.* 22 l. 5, 23 l. 9, 24 l. 7; *P. Tebt.* I 53 l. 11; *BGU* III 759 l. 7; *P. Gen.* 47 l. 6; *P. Abinn.* 44 l. 9, 47 l. 5.

⁵¹ Mart. XII 26 (27).1-2; other instances: after having inflamed Martial, the boy Telesphorus draws back his buttocks in order to request more money: «What can you do if a barber demands freedom and riches when his drawn razor is over your head? Then it is not a barber who is demanding, but a robber» (XI 58.8). «There is nothing worse than a naked robber, nothing more safe (from theft of his works) than a bad poet» (XII 63.12).

⁵² *Anth. Pal.*, Ciriagoras 30.

⁵³ M. Aur. Ant. VI 34; Plato, *Gorg.* 507e.

⁵⁴ Cic., *Par.* VI 2.46; Aug., *Conf.* III 8.16; Tert., *Ap.* 2.8.

⁵⁵ Aes. 227.

⁵⁶ Plut., *De superst.* 166E-F.

In the rich vocabulary of ancient abuse 'robber' is a very convenient term for expressing contempt. In a very global sense the *delatores* operating under Domitian are denoted as highwaymen and robbers⁵⁷. Several patterns can be discerned in the way the robber acts as the despicable opponent. In the field of politics the adversary is often called a robber. The adherents of Sextus Pompeius in Spain, for instance, were just *latrones*⁵⁸. The «gladiator» Marcus Antonius wages war against the fatherland with a gang of robbers and he himself was the most hideous of all robbers⁵⁹. In a sinister ellipsis the emperor Claudius refuses to mention the foul name of a «brigand» — he was Valerius Asiaticus — who was a consul before Vienna enjoyed complete Roman citizenship⁶⁰.

After the fall of the Republic *latro* as a term of political abuse is reserved for the bad emperor or the false claimant to the throne. Hatred of Domitian inspired Corellius Rufus with the determined will to overcome his corporal pains just to survive the robber one day⁶¹. In the very curious quarrel between a certain Appianus and an Antonine emperor (Marcus or Verus) the latter is called a robber-chief⁶². In particular the pretender to the imperial throne is denoted as a robber⁶³. Ausonius calls Maximus (383-388) the *Rutipinum latronem*. Robbers or a woman (!) ruled the East in the days of Zenobia; here the reputation of the Syrians may strengthen the image. Even in the official language of Roman law the robber-emperor is present: Stilicho was one, as was another unknown political adversary⁶⁴. This metaphorical usage warns us not to take literally *CIL* VI 234 where the *genius* of the army is thanked for liquidating the fiercest robbers. Friedländer saw it as alluding to Bulla Felix and his gang, but some episode during the wars of Constantine is to be preferred. When Lactantius speaks of robbery with respect to the confiscations of Diocletian, the proper sense of *latrocinium* is strengthened by the indignation the word expressed in

⁵⁷ *Grassatores, latrones*: Plin., *Paneg.* 34.1.

⁵⁸ *Bell. Hisp.* 4.

⁵⁹ Cic., *Phil.* XIII 7.16 and XIV 3.8; earlier Cicero exclaimed with respect to Caesar: *O perditum latronem* (*Att.* VII 18.2).

⁶⁰ *ILS* 212.

⁶¹ Plin., *Ep.* I 12.

⁶² Ἀῖστωρ, *P. Oxy.* I 33 col. iv l. 8.

⁶³ R. MACMULLEN, *RIDA* 10 (1963), p. 221-225.

⁶⁴ Aus., *Ordo Nob. urb.* IX, Aquileia 9; Aur. Victor 33.3; *Codex Theod.* IX 42.22 and 42.24 (23 January 426).

general. The tribunal which condemned the friends of Valeria without a prosecutor does not deserve the name of law-court, but that of robber-gang⁶⁵. In a similar sense Constantine condemns as brigandage the unauthorized acts of corrupt officials⁶⁶.

Of course *latro* and the like were never free from their literal meaning: the insecurity caused by various forms of brigandage in the later Roman Empire again and again strengthened the original sense. A *latro* was never the picturesque figure of a fairy tale as Ali Baba's forty robbers are to modern man. But there is a strong rhetorical tradition in which *latro* etc. is used in the very wide sense of a person who lacks humanity and rightfulness. He who harms people without discretion is a robber, the person who hurts his friends is a parricide⁶⁷.

To the Christian theologians robbers become proverbial for *sinner*s: like prostitutes and publicans they furnish Augustine with the objects of his prayers. How is it imaginable that sinners enjoy prosperity under God's justice? «Why young men practise highway-robbery, and enjoy excellent health, while infants who could not have hurt anyone, even by a word, are afflicted with all manner of cruel diseases», thus Augustine formulates the Dostojevskian problem of God's justice⁶⁸. Under which ideal circumstances is the *pietas* of a Christian put to the test? In the confrontation with an armed robber, when he is not allowed to hit back in an act of self-defence⁶⁹!

As the 'ideal' sinners robbers are the favourite object for conversion. Already St. John pointed the way by converting a young man who was dead to God and had organized a gang of bandits. The saint had a risky journey which would well fit into one of the ancient novels⁷⁰. In the same degree as the robber used to sin he excels in holiness after his conversion, as is said of the robber St. Martin converted in the Alps⁷¹. «Le brigand repentí» becomes one of the features of the successes of any saint⁷². In the Middle Ages, too, highwaymen are brought back to the path of God with striking uniformity by holy preachers like Robert of Arbrissel (1116) in the neighbourhood of Blois, and by St. Francis.

⁶⁵ *De mort.* 7 and 40.

⁶⁶ *Codex Theod.* I 16.7.

⁶⁷ Petr. 107.11.

⁶⁸ *Med.* I 2; *Civ. Dei* 20.2.

⁶⁹ Ambr., *Off.* I 175.

⁷⁰ Eus., *Hist. eccl.* III 23.

⁷¹ Sulp. Sev., *Vita Mart.* 5.4ff.

⁷² See Appendix 2 of F. H. M. van CAMPEN, *Latrocinium*, thesis Nijmegen 1978.

The robber just waits along the roads for his conversion, but the heretic is the criminal *par excellence* who has wilfully stolen God's word from the faithful, as Eusebius says of Crescens. What Celsus once said of the people who flocked to the Church («If somebody wished to collect a robber-gang he would call together such people»), Christians could say of the traitors to the apostolic faith⁷³. Their churches are dens of robbers, with a clear reference to Jesus' word about the merchants in the three synoptic gospels⁷⁴. In a poignant way the Jewish synagogue can be styled a den of robbers and the Jewish rebel Bar Cochba was in the eyes of the orthodox writer no better than «a bloodthirsty bandit»⁷⁵.

THE BRINGER OF A *PERIPETEIA*

As the ancient traveller was leaving a city his eyes came across the inscriptions on the tombs that lined the road. Many a text informed the *viator* that death had been brought about suddenly by an attack of fierce robbers. *Interfectus a latronibus* in fact seems to be a common way of dying according to the formular expression⁷⁶. Composing an epigram for somebody killed by robbers could even become a literary play⁷⁷. The sophist Polemo proved his wit: when the proconsul was putting to the torture a bandit who had been convicted on several charges, and declaimed that he could not think of any penalty for him that would match his crimes, Polemo who was present said: «Order him to learn by heart some antiquated stuff».

⁷³ Eus., *Hist. eccl.* IV 16.

⁷⁴ Mt. 21:13; Mc. 11:17; Lk. 19:46; John 'urbanizes' the saying and has «market hall» (2:16). Church buildings of heretics are called dens of robbers in a letter by bishop Alexander of Alexandria to Alexander of Byzantium: A. H. M. JONES, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, Toronto 1978, p. 122 (earlier published as Penguin).

⁷⁵ St. John Chrys., *Hom.* I 2; Eus. *Hist. eccl.* IV 6.

⁷⁶ L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, p. 96: slaughtered by robbers; p. 97: killed on behalf of his fatherland in a clash with robbers: *AE* 1934, 209: *a latronibus atrocissima* (sic) *mortem perpeussus*; *CIL* III 8830: *deceptus a latronibus*; *CIL* III 9054 = *ILS* 5112; *ILS* 8505: *occisus a viatoribus*; *CIL* III 2544: *abductus a latronibus*; *CIL* III 2399; *CIL* XIII 6429 = *CLE* 1268: *hic interfecere latrones*; *CIL* XIII 3689 = *CLE* 618: *deceptus fraude latronum*; *CIL* XIII 2282: *a latronibus interfectus*; *CIL* XIII 2667; *CIL* XIII 259: *a latronibus interfecti*; *CIL* II 1389; *CIL* II 2813; *CIL* II 2968: *a latronibus occisus*; *CIL* II 3479 = 5928 = *CLE* 979: *caeditur infesto concursu latronum*; *AE* 1903, 203: *interfectus a latronibus*; *ILS* 2646: *interfectus a latronibus*; *CIL* VI 20307 = *ILS* 8505: *deceptus a latronibus*.

⁷⁷ *Anth. Pal.* VII 737.

The existence of robbers was one of the facts of life (and death). With satisfaction some persons announce that they were lucky to have survived a hold-up by robbers: «on my way I suffered from robbers (*latrones sum passus*); naked I escaped together with my men», so says the *librator* of the *legio III Augusta*; the wording of the inscription sounds like an Apuleian adventure-story, but it makes it clear that adventure was one of the facts of life in antiquity. Psois wrote to a friend in Hermopolis that this company had been surprised by highwaymen: «Thank heaven I got away completely despoiled but alive»⁷⁸.

The robber crucified just outside the city figures in Petronius' grim story about the widow of Ephesus. Yet this method of execution was not fiction, but one of the ways in which people were confronted with the presence of robbery. The skeleton of a robber whose flesh had been eaten away furnished Galen with an elementary insight in the human anatomy⁷⁹. Even in the centre of the *Pax Augusta* a person of high rank could vanish into space. Pliny is willing to assist in an investigation but he is pessimistic about the outcome: *Vereor ne frustra*. All attempts to ban the social disease of robbery were doomed to fail as long as human nature remained the same, as Dio Cassius puts it⁸⁰. So there were enough facts to inspire the topic of the dangers of travel.

One could boast or lament to have faced the dangers of the road in order to preach the gospel or only to have reached the house of one's beloved wife «through lanes of robbers»⁸¹. Croesus was sure that the menace threatening his son according to the oracle would be brought about by «malicious robbers». Christian preachers recommended rendering assistance to persons who needed help because of, *inter alia*, «the bloody cruelty of bandits»; but Ambrose, on the other hand, warned against persons who appeal to Christian charity by feigning to have been plundered by robbers. When some soldiers accompanying Dionysios to his trial in Alexandria saw a throng of villagers, they ran away thinking that «they were bandits who had come to plunder and steal»;

⁷⁸ *CIL* VIII 2728 = 18122 = ILS 5795, Lambaesis, AD 152; *P. Stras.* IV 233 = *CE* 39 (1964), p. 150-156.

⁷⁹ Galen, *On Anatomical Procedures* 1.2 (Kühn II 221-222), transl. C. Singer, Oxford 1956, p. 3; *De usu part. corp.* 2; Celsus, *Praef.* I, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *Ep.* VI 25, with a reference to an earlier disappearance; Cassius Dio XXXVI 20.1.

⁸¹ Paul, II *Cor* 11:26; John Chrys.: D. GORCE, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV^e et V^e siècles*, Paris 1925; Eus., *Hist. eccl.* VI 42; *Anth. Pal.* V 213 Poseidippos; Propertius III 16 fears the *audaces manus* which he will come across if he goes from Rome to his *domina* in Tibur.

thus one Christian escaped assisted by the common fear of robbers. But another, Nemesion, was at first falsely accused of being «in league with bandits»; only when the accusation became untenable was the real charge disclosed: his being a Christian⁸².

The insecurity of the roads was such a common phenomenon that tyrants could mask the disappearance of their victims with the alibi «attacked or killed by bandits»; Dionysius of Syracuse had done so with respect to some Pythagoreans. Caracalla had Pompeianus killed stating as the cause of death *a latronibus interemptus*; Augustus had pointed the way by liquidating Quintus Gallius and using a similar *simulacrum*⁸³.

As concrete measures for safety could not be relied upon, people resorted to magical means; the heart of a vulture worked against wild beasts and robbers. Fixing the right foreleg of a chameleon to one's arm protected against a wild beast, a water monster and «attack by robbers»⁸⁴; St. Augustine gave the sound advice to simply trust the *misericordia Dei* when faced with robbers...

Also, the signs of heaven had to do with the risks of robbery. If Saturn and Mars control the luminaries and in particular if they are in opposition, they «will involve the subject in great dangers, through unfortunate voyages if they are in watery signs or again in the signs of human form, through piracy, plots and robberies»⁸⁵. An experienced interpreter of dreams like Artemidorus assured that certain visions meant death by robbers. The hawk and the harrier announced the appearance of robbers, a very perspicuous linking of animal and human *latrones*. Which of the two species appears is indicative of the way the robbers will attack. Throngs of cranes and storks in dreams predict the advance of robbers and enemies. The epiphany of the god Dionysus or of heroes was far from auspicious; it meant enemies and robbers⁸⁶. In his own practice Artemidorus came across a man who dreamed that two stalks were torn from his breast; soon his two sons were attacked and killed by a robber-gang. Even the robbers themselves could not

⁸² Hdt. I 41; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* XIV MPG 35.864-865; Ambr., *Off.* II 16; Eus., *Hist. eccl.* VI 40 and 41.

⁸³ Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 190; SHA, *Car.* 3.8 (meant is Tiberius Claudius Aurelius); Suet., *Aug.* 27.4

⁸⁴ Plin., *NH* XXIX 77, XXVIII 115; *P. Lond.* I 370, p. 96.

⁸⁵ Ptol., *Tetrabiblos* 4.8.

⁸⁶ Artem. II 20, II 37, IV 78.

dispense with dream-experts; someone heard in a dream a very trustworthy person, quoting the Hesiodian verse «avoid evil profit» (*Erga* V 352). This man, Artemidorus says, a highwayman, was caught and punished⁸⁷.

He would have done better to see Deimos or Phobos in his sleep, or their father Ares: they are favourable appearances for generals, soldiers, gladiators, *robbers*, and players of games. Thistles and thorns bring profit to publicans, landlords, *robbers* and the like because they violently appropriate another man's property against the will of the possessors⁸⁸. So it only becomes clear once more that robbers were a common phenomenon; they even consulted dream-experts. But they even appear in dreams indicating sudden bad luck; the modern equivalent of nightmares about car-accidents. Dreams of a sudden confrontation with robbers are as unfavourable as visions of falling from steep rocks⁸⁹. Robbers are indicative of *peripeteia*, a sudden turn of luck.

Public speakers exploit the theme of robbery as the cause of a catastrophe. Jesus' parable about the man who travelled from Jerusalem to Jericho is an instance (Mc. 10:30).

When the fable wants to illustrate the difference between a coward and a brave man the imaginary test-case is two soldiers encountering a robber⁹⁰. To philosophers a hold-up by robbers was the image of the precariousness of life: people seek the company of a magistrate travelling through the countryside in order to be safe from robbers' attacks. That is the way a prudent man acts. «There are many *robber-gangs*, tyrants, risky situations, the loss of the beloved». But only conformance to God's will is a guarantee for safety. Only then can you say: «now no evil can occur to me; to me there does not exist a *robber* or an earthquake»⁹¹. «In the world there are *robbers*, thieves, tribunals, and those called tyrants who believe to have some power over us because of that sorry body and its possessions»⁹². Already Antiphanes the comedian had illustrated the maxim that nothing is safe as regards wealth: one could lose it because of an *eisphora*, a trial, a costly

⁸⁷ Artem. V 84, IV 59.

⁸⁸ II 39, IV 57.

⁸⁹ I 5; experienced dreamers who suffer from fear or are trying to escape will dream about the killing of robbers (IV prol.).

⁹⁰ Phaedr. V 2; a more complicated exploitation of 'robbers' in Aes., Ἀνὴρ φέναξ.

⁹¹ Epict., *Diatr.* IV 1.91-92 and III 13.13.

⁹² Arr., *Epict.* I 9.15; Hermes calls robber-gangs one of the assistants of death (Luc., *Char.* 17).

strategy, choregy or trierarchy, one could be made a prisoner at sea or on land, one could fall into the hands of *robbers*⁹³. The risk of such a *peripeteia* was a motive for Saint Melania not to attach herself to earthly goods⁹⁴.

So one cannot say in the light of this material that it is just a simple trick of the ancient novelist to introduce robbers and pirates to account for sudden changes. The link with the harsh reality of life is closer than the modern mind can imagine. The use of robbers as *diaboli ex machina* is shared by novelists and thinkers alike⁹⁵. Brigands figure not only in novels by Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus and Apuleius; a sudden disappearance is often attributed to robbers: e.g. when Polyphemus suddenly misses Hylas during the journey of the Argonauts he exclaims: «My lord! It falls to me to give you dreadful news. Hylas went out for water. He has not come back. Some brigands must have got him»⁹⁶. When Ceres does not find Proserpina she stands astounded like the herdsman whose cattle has been attacked by the sudden fierceness of African lions or the plundering throngs⁹⁷.

Realities of life as well as philosophical and literary tradition come together in Roman law where there are striking similarities with the quoted *exempla*. When can *donationes* be regarded as having been done *mortis causa*? Not just, as Paulus held, because of poor health, but also when death is imminent, brought «by an enemy or robbers or the cruelty and hatred of a tyrant or the danger of undertaking a voyage over the sea». Another judicial problem: what is a rightful *excusatio*? Apart from illness and a sea-voyage the *incursus latronum* is acknowledged as such. It was such an incursion which caused Julius Donatus to make his last will⁹⁸. This case and the legal considerations quoted above make it clear that the *peripeteia* brought by robbers was not just novelists' fiction or an abstract situation devised by philosophers.

⁹³ Frg. 204K; brigands figure in ethical discussions and rhetorical exercises, e.g. Arist., *Eth. Nic.* IX 2.4.

⁹⁴ Gerontius, *Life of Melania Minor* 61.

⁹⁵ E.g. Achilles Tatius II 16, III 5; even a dream is fancied in which a robber kidnaps Leucippe, throws her to the ground, and is about to cut open her body; he stands for Cleitophon who lies with Leucippe at that very moment (II 23.5).

⁹⁶ Apoll. Rhodius I 1257ff.; Iambulus was kidnapped by Arab robbers (Diod. Sic. II 55). The first thought in the case of the sudden disappearance of a young man is: robbers (Luc., *Alex.* 44).

⁹⁷ Claudian, *De raptu Proserp.* III 165ff.

⁹⁸ *Dig.* XXXIX 6.3, XXVII 1.13.7, XXIX 5.2.

THE RESPECTED ROBBER

So far we have only come across the robber as an anti-man who constitutes such a real danger that he occurs in ancient dreams and furnishes philosophers and even lawgivers with an 'ideal' situation of a complete reversal of fortune. But disgust and fear often mingle with fascination for the man who transgresses the limits of normal human behaviour.

After Tacfarinas and Coracottas, the ancient robbers remain nameless for more than a century. But towards the end of the second century A.D., gang-leaders appear whose names are even recorded in historiography: Bulla Felix in Italy, Maternus in Gallia, Isidorus in Egypt, and Claudius in Syria and Judaea. Their astounding exploits are described with proper respect: Claudius dressed as a military tribune even ventured to appear before the emperor, saluting and kissing him⁹⁹.

What is admired in these ancient Robin Hoods is their *audacity*. They outwit the Roman authorities to the hidden satisfaction of the masses. Guided by their leader Isidorus the priest, the *Bucolici milites* committed daring acts. Simulating to offer a ransom for their captured husbands they came dressed like women and deluded a Roman centurion¹⁰⁰. In 369 the Maratocupreni, «a fierce race of brigands», posed as the retinue of a state treasurer and penetrated into a town¹⁰¹.

Robbers demonstrate an admirable contempt of death, according to Heliodorus the novelist, Julian the emperor, and Saint Augustine the church-father: although even *inter cruciatus* they do not betray the names of their comrades, the suffering of all the robbers put together cannot be compared to that of the martyrs¹⁰².

The mixture of respect and fascination leads to giving slaves and horses names like *Latro* and *Raptor*¹⁰³.

Robbers are a challenge to theologians and philosophers to investigate the limits of human existence. Augustine holds that in spite of all their brutal behaviour they remain men; they are not *animalia*. Because

⁹⁹ Cassius Dio LXXV 2.4.

¹⁰⁰ SHA, *Avidius Cassius* 6.7.

¹⁰¹ Amm. Marc. XXVIII 2.11-13.

¹⁰² Heliod., *Aeth.* VI 13.2; Jul., *Or.* VII 210A; Aug., *De verb. ap. sermo* 15; Aug., *Psalm.* 68.

¹⁰³ *ILS* 8521; *CIL* VI 10056 (11); during the siege of Jerusalem Titus is said to have admired an audacious Roman soldier as a 'robber' (Jos., *BJ* VI 2.8).

of their extreme position they help to get a better understanding of the essentials of human life. Arrian once had the intention to describe the life of Tillorobos (or Tilliboros), the brigand who harassed Bithynia, the region of mount Ida and the deserted parts of Asia¹⁰⁴.

With respectful astonishment, any *clemency* shown by robbers is signalized. Both Bulla Felix and Gaius Titinius were selective in their aggressive actions. Bulla spared poor men and Titinius, who took part in the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt, «had killed many of the free men of the area as a brigand, but had never done any harm to any of their slaves»¹⁰⁵. The clemency shown by these real robbers is a common feature of bandits in novels. Thyamis, leader of an Egyptian robber-gang, was according to Heliodorus not wholly a barbarian, but capable of subtle feelings. A fisherman who delivered his goods to some pirates got more than a fair price¹⁰⁶. So the *clemens latro* is a topos: Lactantius doubts whether the victims of Maximinus' rapacity could be grateful because «in the way of clement robbers» (*more celementium latronum*) he despoiled them without bloodshed¹⁰⁷.

Sometimes the motives which brought robbers to their sorry existence are excused. Already Odysseus, posing as a pirate, justifies himself by pointing to the need to fill his belly. It was mere *necessitas* which caused the picturesque robbers of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* to pursue their trade. Also, the noble robber-chief of the *Aithiopika* had opted for his profession out of sheer necessity. Political rhetoric acknowledges the causal relation between poverty and robbery: the forefather directed the less affluent to farming and trade, knowing that idleness leads to indigence and indigence to crime. This insight resembles the rabbinic prescript: «A man is obliged to teach his son a trade and whoever does not teach his son a trade teaches him to become a robber»¹⁰⁸.

On the other hand, Aristotle doubts whether eliminating distress

¹⁰⁴ *Soliloq.* 1.2; Luc., *Alex.* 2.

¹⁰⁵ Cassius Dio LXXVII 10; Diod. Sic. XXXVI 35.

¹⁰⁶ *Aeth.* I 19.2, V 20.4.

¹⁰⁷ *Mort.* 37; Cic., *Phil.* II 5 speaks of the *beneficium latronum*; on the other hand, Josephus remarks disapprovingly that Simon son of Giora did not limit himself to rich people (as a normal robber is expected to do), *BJ* II 22.2.

¹⁰⁸ *Od.* XVII 285ff; Apul., *Met.* IV 23; Heliod., *Aeth.* I 19.2; Isocr., *Areop.* 44-45; C. G. MONTEFIORE-H. LOEWE, *A Rabbinic Anthology*, 1938, p. 444; Eucolymbus the fisherman in his necessity thinks about joining some pirates; he shuns bloodshed, but Limopuktes (Famine-Fighter!) the parasite joined some Megarian highwaymen: «This provides me with a lazy and nefarious life» (Alciphron, *Letters* I 8.2-4 and III 34.5).

would remove the causes of crime; he disagrees with Paleas who held the common view. That the poor flocked to gangs is established as a fact on several occasions: Catiline's army attracted them; the *auctor de rebus bellicis* complains about the *afflicta paupertas* that is inflamed to various criminal ventures. On the other hand, the recruitment of energetic poor people was supposed to diminish brigandage¹⁰⁹.

There was a natural alliance between the poor and the brigand: the destitute traveller felt safe when confronted with a robber. The poor itinerant will sing in the presence of a robber: *cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*. The robber lets the nude pass: *nudum latro transmittit*. Poverty could be regarded as a safe-conduct, as the shipwrecked narrator says in the Euboic Idyl in Dio's speech: «Poverty in reality is blessed». In the *Aithiopika* people travelled disguised as poor persons in order not to experience the truth of Phaedrus' adage: *Magnae periculo sunt opes obnoxiae*; this is illustrated by the story of the proud mule with its basket full of gold that fell victim to robbers, whereas its mate carrying only barley escaped unharmed. The most striking proof of the commonness of this idea is the advice an Egyptian soldier gives to his wife: «Take your jewels with you, but do not wear them»¹¹⁰.

THE ROBBER-GANG AS THE ANTI-STATE

The robber as the man who puts himself into the margin of human existence brings about all kinds of reactions as we have seen: rejection, disgust, abuse, astonishment about the fickleness of human fate, and even respect and speculation: not only are robbers human beings capable of clemency, their gangs are communities which have an order of their own. Their members are safe from injury by the others. There are, as Cicero puts it, laws even among robbers. This raises the question about the fundamental differences between this community and the society of citizens. Is the *civitas* any assembly, even of wild and cruel beasts? Even a crowd of fugitive slaves and robbers congregated in one place?¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Arist., *Pol.* 1266a37-1267b9; Sall., *Cat.* 28.4; Anon., *De rebus bell.* 2.3; Cassius Dio LII 27, LXXV 2.4ff.

¹¹⁰ Juvenal X 22; Sen., *Ep.* XIV 9; Heliod., *Aeth.* II 7; *P. Mich.* I 214 (AD 296); the cock (= Pythagoras) comforts his poor master Micylos: you have not to fear any robber (Luc., *Somn.* 22).

¹¹¹ Plato, *Pol.* 351C; Cic., *Off.* II 11.40; *Par.* IV 1.27.

In the final resort *iustitia* is to be regarded as the distinctive feature of the state. If this is lacking, the only difference is the result with which the same crimes are being committed: one gets the cross as the prize of his crime, the other the diadem. What are gangs other than petty reigns, asks Augustine. In particular the imperialistic state which subjugates other nations without provocation is just one mighty robber-gang. In a fit of gloomy doubt Marcus Aurelius wonders whether there is any distinction between the spider which is proud of catching a fly and the man who captures boars or bears or Sarmatians. «If you go into the question of principles, are these anything but robbers one and all?» This passage bears some similarity with the enumeration of different ways of living in Aristotle's *Politics*: some are shepherds, «other support themselves by hunting, which is of different kinds. Some for example are brigands»¹¹².

It is just a little step from extreme doubt to idolizing the robber-gang. Apuleius' robber-gang has the features of a utopic community: the role of servant and dinner-guest is played in rotation. The Bacaudae live in accordance with natural law, dispensing with fraudulent lawyers, and booty is divided in a strict and honest way¹¹³.

There is a marked trend to see a certain nobility in the gang-leader, e.g. in Achilles Tatius' robber-chief who is distinguished by his manners and speech. He is the man of firm authority who is obeyed by his men; in the same way (*obsequio pleno*) Christians should obey their bishop Cyprian (a rather shocking comparison). The robber-leader may question the right of lawful authority; «For it was a witty and a truthful rejoinder which was given by a captured pirate to Alexander the Great. The king asked the fellow 'What is your idea, in infesting the sea?' And the pirate answered, with inhibited insolence, 'The same as yours, in infesting the earth! But because I do it with a tiny craft, I'm called a pirate: because you have a mighty navy, you're called an emperor'». This frankness of speech in a marginal person is in itself a common topic. A well-known example is Diogenes' conversation with Alexander¹¹⁴.

¹¹² Juvenal XVI 103ff.; Aug., *Civ. Dei* IV 4 and 6; M. Aur. Ant. X 10.2; Arist., *Pol.* I 1256a1-1256b39.

¹¹³ Apul., *Met.* IV 8: *tunc sorte ducte ministerium faciunt*; Querolus, ed. W. Emrich, Berlin 1965, p. 68 l. 11-13.

¹¹⁴ Achilles Tatius III 9.2; Cypr., *Ep.* 68; Aug., *Civ. Dei* IV 6 (cf. Cic., *RR* III 14.24); Alexander and Diogenes: Arr. VII 2.1 and Plut., *Alex.* 14.1-5.

Robbers in antiquity as well as in other periods inspire common people with fear and respect. As an always present phenomenon ancient robbery fed the thinking about the limits between the lawful community and its counterparts. The suppression of robbery marks the transition from barbarism to civilisation. During the *Pax Augusta* banditism was pretended to have been expelled from the *oikoumene*. Barbarians and robbers represent the same forces of evil. Official art stresses the demotic character of the exterior *latrunculi*.

'Robber' and the like was a much-used term of abuse for all kinds of unacceptable behaviour. The *latro* was the enemy *par excellence* of the social and political order. A political adversary and especially the false emperor could be called a robber. As the antipode of normal man the robber was the favourite sinner to Christian theologians.

In a more reflective spirit people pondering about the vicissitudes of human life used the robber as the symbol for catastrophe. In popular morality, as reflected in magical practices and recorded dreams, the robber plays this part as the cause of *peripeteia*. Preachers, novelists and philosophers exploit the same theme.

Standing outside human society the robber could become the object of admiration; his contempt of death and general audacity were proverbial. Even clemency could be ascribed to the noble robber who, forced only by dire necessity, pursues his trade. As a Robin Hood he spares the poor as is established in popular sayings. And finally the robber-gang is the mirror of human society; it has the same features, only its aims are different. The audacious robber may question the right of lawful authority. Thus Bulla Felix says to Papinian the prefect when asked for the reasons of his being a robber: «For the same reason why you are a prefect»¹¹⁵.

Cassius Dio, who tells the story, had, as a governor of provinces, personal experience of the phenomenon of robbery. His description of Bulla Felix reads like a novel. In the light of a well-developed topic one has to reckon with some stylizing in this and other 'factual' accounts about ancient robbery¹¹⁶.

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¹¹⁵ Cassius Dio LXXVI-LXXVII; see also Maecenas' advice to Augustus to introduce a standing army (LII 19-40) and his pessimistic view about the chances of stamping out robbery and piracy (XXXVI 20.1).

¹¹⁶ I wish to express my thanks to those who assisted me by furnishing and correcting materials and by typing and rectifying the text: Luuk de Blois, Paul Leunissen, Paul Vanderbroeck, Eugène van Leeuwen, Ciska Muller, and Mariken van Groenestijn.

HERODOTUS' IDEAS ABOUT WORLD EMPIRES*

Herodotus' ideas about the succession of world empires are important because Persia, the enemy faced by the Greeks, is for him the last of a series, its defeat his capital theme. Herodotus possibly thought that the failure of the Persians in 479 B.C. fitted in the succession of world empires and this stimulated him to write about it.

Greeks were always interested in the idea of succession. We have an example in the list of thalassocracies, a fifth-century creation which is a parallel for the idea of succession of world empires¹. No doubt the domination of Athens at sea was a stimulus to think about sea-power. However, Herodotus distinguishes clearly world empires as continental powers from sea-powers².

The first question to answer is where, when and how Herodotus obtained his information concerning the succession of universal empires³. First of all, it must be kept in mind that he was born in Halicarnassus, in a zone of contact between the Orient and the Greek world. This fact is essential for understanding Herodotus' background. On the other hand, we know that he had been to the Euphrates (I 185), and even to Babylonia (I 178-183), but he never states that he had visited Persia. In any case, his information derives from his travelling, and also very likely comes from Greeks living in the Persian Empire as well as from Persians speaking Greek. It must be ruled out that the historian would have had access to archives when he was in the Orient; moreover he did not know Oriental languages. Thus the importance of oral tradition must be emphasized, and it must also be remembered that he is in the tradition of writing on geographic and ethnographic matters started by the logographers. It is from this perspective that we must consider his approach to what we can call «the theory of the

* This is a revised version of the paper read in Professor W.G. Forrest's seminar in the University of Oxford about *Some Problems on Herodotus* on 29 November 1986. I am most indebted to Professor Forrest for his suggestions and kind revision of this paper.

¹ See W.G. FORREST, *Two Chronographic Notes*, *CQ* N.S. 19 (1969), p. 95-110, esp. p. 95 and 106.

² For this aspect see A. MOMIGLIANO, *Sea-Power in Greek Thought*, *CR* 58 (1944), p. 1-7 = *Secondo contributo*, Roma 1960, p. 57-67, esp. p. 57-58.

³ W.G. FORREST, *Motivation in Herodotus: the Case of the Ionian Revolt*, *International History Review* 1.3 (July 1979), p. 311-322, has stressed the importance of oral tradition (p. 313) and the presence of Greeks in the Persian Empire (p. 317-318).

succession of world empires». It seems thus reasonable to think that he got his information while travelling in Asia, and especially when he was in Mesopotamia⁴. Consequently the information given by him is direct.

The succession of world empires appears in the section devoted to the history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian universal empire. Its inclusion there shows its Persian origin and that it was intended to justify and to glorify the achievements of the Achaemenids.

In I 95.2-96.1 Herodotus describes the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, which is for him an ἀρχή, and that broke down after 520 years of rule in Upper Asia because of the rebellion of the Medes. In the rise of the Medes there is a fight for ἐλευθερία of this people, who lived in δουλεία under the Assyrians. The ruling power is considered by Herodotus a τυραννίς.

Herodotus assigns an enormous importance to the river Halys, which separates Upper Asia from Lower Asia. The geopolitical consciousness of Herodotus in respect to the importance of the river Halys is clear. In I 72.3 we find further evidence for the importance of the Halys in Herodotus' thought. In this context attention must be paid to I 7.2, where the tyrants of Sardes are shown, like the Assyrians, as descendents from Ninus. This Ninus corresponds to the Nemrod of the Bible and his name can be considered as an eponymous of Nineveh. The unification of Upper Asia and Lower Asia took place as a result of the defeat of Croesus of Lydia by Cyrus in 546 B.C. and the subsequent fall of Sardes. Then the Persians became a real threat for the Greeks⁵.

⁴ W. BAUMGARTNER, *Herodots babylonische und assyrische Nachrichten*, *ArchOrient* 18.1-2 (1950), p. 69-106, has pointed at Herodotus' scarce knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian history (p. 100-106). More recently A. KUHR, *Assyrian and Babylonian Traditions in Classical Authors: a Critical Synthesis*, in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, edd. H.J. NISSEN - J. RENGEL, Berlin 1982, p. 539-553, has indicated the scarcity of information concerning Assyria and Babylonia in the Greek world. C. MASSETTI, *Le fonti di Erodoto per la storia dell'antico oriente*, *Helikon* 11-12 (1971-1972), p. 279-288, considers Herodotus in the tradition of Greek historiographical writing on Persia and Asia Minor. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Eastern Elements in Post-Exilic Jewish, and Greek, Historiography*, in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Oxford 1977, p. 25-35, defends the influence of Persian documents in Herodotus, though recognizing that the subject is still unexplored. D.M. LEWIS, *Persians in Herodotus*, in *The Greek Historians*, Saratoga 1985, p. 101-117, points out the possibility of somebody looking at the inscription of Behistun on behalf of Herodotus on the grounds of the similarity with Herodotus' account (p. 102) and also to Greeks working in the Persian administration as Herodotus' informants (p. 108). For Herodotus' sources concerning Persia see also D. HEYGI, *Historical Authenticity of Herodotus in the Persian Logoi*, *AAntHung* 21 (1973), p. 73-87.

⁵ R. DREWS, *The Fall of Astyages and Herodotus' Chronology of the Eastern Kingdoms*, *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 9-11, has drawn attention to the Heraclids of Lydia as counterpart in Lower Asia of the powers in Upper Asia, i.e. of the Assyrians and Medians. On the

In I 106.2 Herodotus promised a λόγος on the Median conquest of Nineveh. This promise was never fulfilled. In I 184 Herodotus also promised a digression on Assyria, an Assyrian λόγος, which he never wrote, though it is also possible that he wrote it and that it was lost. But it is also possible that he changed his mind and thought it was not any longer necessary or perhaps wrote it and died before publishing it. This Assyrian λόγος would doubtless have completed our knowledge about the succession of world empires⁶.

In any case, Herodotus does not distinguish Assyria from Babylonia, as can be realized in I 178, I 188, I 192, III 92 and III 155. For him Assyria is the oldest power in the Orient and he confuses it with Babylonia. It should be noted that Herodotus did not know much about Assyrian and Babylonian history in spite of the fact of having been to Mesopotamia. However, it must be made clear that Herodotus tried to distinguish peoples throughout his *Histories*. He very likely began the series of world empires with the Assyrians because there was no evidence available to him concerning previous world empires as in the course of time memory of them had been lost⁷. In this context it must be remembered that Herodotus was creating history while the world empires imply history.

The Assyrians were succeeded by the Medes, people of whom Hero-

other hand, P.R. HELM, *Herodotus' mēdikos logos and Median History, Iran* 19 (1981), p. 85-90, has shown the unreliability of the Median *logos* of Herodotus (I 95-106), mainly on chronological points.

⁶ This point has raised much speculation: E. BACHOF, *Die Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι des Herodots, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 23 (1877), p. 577-584, supposes that Herodotus had planned to write an independent work on Assyria. According to G. HUXLEY, *A Fragment of the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι of Herodotus, GRBS* 6 (1965), p. 207-212, on the grounds of a new reading of a passage in the *Historia animalium*, Aristotle would have read an account of Herodotus on the fall of Nineveh which is now missing. R. DREWS, *Herodotus' other 'logoi', AJPh* 41 (1970), p. 181-197, maintains that Herodotus had planned to write other *logoi* after finishing the *Histories* (p. 181) and that they were added to an earlier text (p. 190-191); but in a subsequent book, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973, p. 94-95, he sustains that Herodotus envisaged to write other *logoi*, but that he did not live to complete them. More recently, J.G. MacQUEEN, *The Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι of Herodotus and their Position in the Histories, CQ N.S.* 28 (1978), p. 284-291, has thought that Herodotus originally wrote an account of Assyrian history which has been lost (p. 291). In a recent paper S. ZAWADZKI, *Herodotus' Assyrian History, Eos* 72 (1984), p. 253-267, attributes scarce value to the information on Assyria and pre-Persian Babylonia given by Herodotus.

⁷ According to R. DREWS, *Assyria in Classical Universal Histories, Historia* 14 (1965), p. 129-142, the Assyrian hegemony lasted from 1219 to 699 B.C., and he adds that Herodotus did not intend to fix the succession of the Assyrian monarchs.

dotus has even provided a list of kings: Deioces (I 102.1), Phraortes (I 102.2), Cyaxares (I 106.3) and Astyages (I 130.1).

In I 106 Herodotus mentions the Scythian domination over Asia, which lasted 28 years. But the Scythians did not build a world empire, because they were a people lacking a real basis for constructing a state, and Herodotus is aware of it. The passage is most important for realizing the difference between nomads and world empire in his thought. In IV 1.2 Herodotus says that the Scythians ruled in Upper Asia for 28 years, in contradiction to I 104.2, where the Scythians appear ruling over the whole of Asia. In IV 1.1 Herodotus says that the Scythians destroyed the Median empire, but in I 106.2 and in IV 4 he mentions that the Scythians were defeated later on by the Medes.

In I 130.1 Herodotus describes the end of the Median empire and the rise of Persia. Herodotus says that the Medians controlled Asia beyond the river Halys, i.e. Upper Asia, for 128 years. As already indicated, the river Halys plays an important role in Herodotus' geopolitical thought. In this passage it can be observed again that Herodotus did not consider the Scythians as a world empire; the sentence *πάρεξ ἧ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον* shows that the Scythians did not break the continuity in the succession. The later revolt of the Medians mentioned in I 130.2 does not cut the continuity in the succession Assyria — Media — Persia either. The rising of the Persians took place during the reign of Astyages, as said in I 130.3. In this passage Herodotus rejoins his main subject.

In I 178.1 and I 188.1 he narrates the attack of Cyrus on Babylonia. Attention must be paid to the fact that he emphasizes how important were the enemies defeated by the Persians.

In an inscription⁸ to be dated after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus (539 B.C.) appears the link of Cyrus with the old Mesopotamic royalty to consider himself «king of the four parts of the world». It reads: «I am Cyrus, the king of the whole, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four parts of the world». Sargon of Akkad, who reigned from 2371 to 2316 B.C.⁹ was the first who about the year 2350 B.C. considered his kingdom as a world empire, though the title «king of the four parts of

⁸ F.H. WEISSBACH, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911, p. 2-8, esp. l. 20.

⁹ The dates in this paper are those of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

the world» does not appear until one of his successors, Naramsim (2291-2225)¹⁰.

It is impossible to produce an overall chronology in the work of Herodotus, who drew for this purpose on his sources. On the other hand, he was interested in chronology only to a certain extent. But he had a point of reference, the Persian Wars, and he proceeded according to his sources and his own aims. What was important for him is the idea of succession, not the chronology. Actually the chronological framework is distinct from the context in which the idea of succession turns up. Therefore I concentrate on the idea of succession putting aside unnecessary chronological questions¹¹.

In I 95 and I 130 Herodotus offered the oldest formula that we know of succession¹². For him the Assyrian empire lasted 520 years, i.e., until the rising of the Medians. Since the destruction of Nineveh and the emergence of the Median empire took place in 612 B.C. we can obtain the year 1132 B.C. for the beginning of the Assyrian world monarchy. This is a date between the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208), in which Assyria actually became a world empire, and the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077), under whom Assyrian armies reached the Mediterranean. The Median empire lasted 128 years, i.e., until the rising of the Persians against them, which took place in 550 B.C. If we add 128 to 550 we obtain the date 678 B.C. for the rise of the Median world monarchy, which overlaps with the Assyrian, which collapsed in 612 B.C. Therefore in Herodotus there is not a precise sequence. However, the idea of continuity appears and that is the most important feature. The succession is: Assyria — Media — Persia¹³.

¹⁰ See E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2, Darmstadt 1954⁷, p. 528-533.

¹¹ For Herodotus' chronology see W. DEN BOER, *Laconian Studies*, Amsterdam 1954, p. 12-25; H. STRASBURGER, *Herodots Zeitrechnung*, *Historia* 5 (1956), p. 129-161; and W. DEN BOER, *Herodot und die Systeme der Chronologie*, *Mnemosyne* s. IV, 20 (1967), p. 30-60.

¹² For Herodotus as the first representative of such a doctrine see J.W. SWAIN, *The Theory of the Four Monarchies*, *CPh* 35 (1940), p. 1-21, esp. 5-12; D. FLUSSER, *The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel*, *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), p. 148-175, esp. p. 154; D. MENDELS, *The Five Empires: a Note on a Propagandistic Topos*, *AJPh* 102 (1981), p. 330-337, esp. p. 330, with H. TADMOR, *Addenda*, *ibid.*, p. 338-339; A. MOMIGLIANO, *Daniele e la teoria greca della successione degli imperi*, *RAL* 35 (1980), p. 157-162 = *Settimo contributo*, Roma 1984, p. 297-304, esp. p. 297, and *Id.*, *The Origins of Universal History*, *ASNP* s. III, 12 (1982), p. 533-560 = *Settimo contributo*, p. 77-103 (esp. p. 88).

¹³ For Herodotus' awareness of the succession of world empires see A.A.T. EHRHARDT, *Politische Metaphysik von Solon bis Augustin*, 3 vol., Tübingen 1959-1969, esp. I, p. 253.

Coming back to the question of the dynasty of Median kings we find that Deioces reigned 53 years (I 102.1), i.e., from 700 to 647 taking as point of departure the year 550 B.C., date of the revolt of Cyrus against Astyages and counting backwards as the ancient chronographers did, that Phraortes ruled 22 years (I 102.2), i.e., from 647 to 625, that Cyaxares reigned 40 years (I 106.3), i.e., from 625 to 585, and that Astyages ruled 35 years (I 130.1), i.e., from 585 to 550. So, adding to 550 the 35 years of Astyages, the 40 years of Cyaxares, the 22 years of Phraortes and the 53 years of Deioces we obtain the year 700 B.C. for the beginning of the Median dynasty. But the real world power of Media actually began in 612 B.C. with the destruction of Nineveh, in which Cyaxares took part. Herodotus alludes to this event in I 106.3. Thus we can observe that he bore in mind the meaning of events with more accuracy than an approach to his chronology at first glance could suggest.

Several passages throw light on the Persian empire as an ever expanding power. In I 4.4 the Persians think that Asia belonged to them. We find the same thought in IX 116.3. It must be noted that these passages are at the beginning and at the end of the work. The roots of the enmity between Greeks and Persians are in the Trojan War. It is meaningful that in IX 122 — just the last chapter of the work — Herodotus has put the speech of Artembares to Cyrus at the beginning of the process of Persian expansion, in which Artembares encourages Cyrus to imperial expansion, but he prefers to inhabit a country which is not fertile in order to have the best people because of the hardness of the geographic conditions. The conclusion can be drawn that the Persians were defeated by the Greeks because they did not follow Cyrus' advice and they were not satisfied with ruling over Asia. Herodotus criticizes imperialistic expansion. Behind such a critique there is the notion of balance which comes from Ionian philosophy. On the other hand, the last chapter provides an answer to the questions of why the Persians were able to build a world empire. It seems that the explanation is the initial hardness of the living conditions. Herodotus has described the progression in power through the different Persian rulers: Cyrus — Cambyses — Darius — Xerxes. I 46 shows the Persian wish of expansion in the time of Cambyses. In III 34.4 Herodotus says that Cambyses had added to his inheritance Egypt and the sea referring to the submission of the Phoenicians (III 19), the Cypriots (III 19) and of Polycrates of Samos (III 44). In III 88.1 all the peoples

of Asia with the exception of the Arabs appear submitted to Darius. The idea of the progression appears again in VII 8, where Xerxes mentions in his speech before attacking Greece that the Persians have taken over hegemony from the Medes and he proposes the conquest of Greece; the passage shows the Persian expansionist-minded imperialism when Xerxes takes the decision to invade Greece¹⁴. Once again the idea turns up of a fight for universal rule between Persians and Greeks in Xerxes' mouth (VII 11). In VIII 109 Themistocles says in his speech before attacking the Persians that the gods and heroes do not wish that one man could rule over Asia and Europe, which clearly indicates a rejection of imperialism in Herodotus' thought¹⁵.

Herodotus understood the Persian empire as the power which was threatening the freedom of the Greeks and therefore he became interested in the Persian empire as world monarchy and as a matter of course in the powers that preceded it¹⁶. As a clever historian he saw the virtues of the Persians as well. It is obvious that he was interested in power, and in the concrete historical reality of the world power faced by the Greeks, i.e., the Persian empire. In his thought lies the fact that power always tends to expand and to dominate other powers. It should not be forgotten that he lived in the time of the conflict between Athens and Sparta, which made Greeks very conscious of disputes among powers. The conflict between Athens and Sparta has an earlier parallel in the struggle between Athens and Persia. Notwithstanding, there is no evidence that Herodotus intended to warn Athens and Sparta. On the other hand, it is very difficult to know to what a degree peoples were conscious of imperialism. It must be remarked that when we speak about world empire or universal monarchy we understand a universalist-minded policy from the standpoint of the political perspective of a civilization. When Herodotus looked for empires behind the Persian he traced the succession Assyria — Media — Persia. It must be noted that he did not include Egypt in the series, which points at the Asiatic origin

¹⁴ For this passage see H. VERDIN, *Hérodote et la politique expansionniste des Achéménides. Notes sur Hdt. VII,8*, in *Studia P. Naster oblata* II, Leuven 1982, p. 327-336. Verdin has drawn attention to I 46 as well.

¹⁵ H.L. GINSBERG, *Studies in Daniel*, New York 1948, p. 5-23, has thought in a source of the Persia of the Achaemenids for such an expansionist-minded theory.

¹⁶ In this line of thought is A.B. BREEBAART, *Weltgeschichte als Thema der antiken Geschichtsschreibung*, *Acta Historiae Neerlandica* 1 (1966), p. 1-21, esp. p. 5, who has emphasized that the subject of Herodotus is the description of the deeds of Greeks and barbarians.

of the doctrine formulated by him. It must be emphasized that they are Asiatic empires and that the central question in Herodotus is to show the opposition Greece, i.e., freedom, and Persia, the last in the succession. The notion comes from the Orient, but Herodotus was the first in formulating it in Greek historiography. He drew on different sources and incorporated the elements into his own framework with the aim of showing the rivalry between Persia and Greece. Persia is the last universal empire against which the Greeks must fight to defend their freedom. This was the main stimulus to search the empires preceding the Persian. We find a parallel for Herodotus' periodization of history in the theory of the five world ages formulated by Hesiod in *Works and Days*, 106-201, though the content is different. However, the evidence given by Herodotus himself in II 53 asserting that he had read Hesiod could point to a certain influence of the poet on the historian.

Finally, it is interesting to realize how different was the reaction towards the Persian empire among Jews and Greeks: positive in the Jews, negative in the Greeks, because they were not accustomed to a foreign domination¹⁷.

We can see that the rivalry between Persia and Greece, but also between Athens and Sparta in his time, stimulated Herodotus' research on power, which led to the formulation of his doctrine of the succession of world empires since he wanted to inquire about the world powers preceding the Persian, the adversary of the Greeks. Herodotus made an enormous effort to obtain his information, and he must not be blamed at all because of some inconsistencies in detail in what concerns geographic or ethnographic matters, or, even more, chronological matters. He had a clear concept in mind and he developed it: This is the struggle between a world empire described as the last in the series of continental powers and the Greek πόλις, mainly represented by Athens. His theory of the succession is clearly formulated and properly inserted in the framework of his historical narrative. It has a political content. The basic fact is that the universal empires were built one after the other, and that there is always a personality around whom the world empire takes shape.

We can infer that a universal state is formed by a people who subjugated other people¹⁸. The people which exercises world rule is

¹⁷ About this aspect see J.L. MYRES, *Persia, Greece and Israel*, *PalEQ* 85 (1953), p. 8-22.

¹⁸ For the formation of just such a state — not of a world state — see the article on Archaic Greece by W.G. RUNCIMAN, *Origins of States: the Case of Archaic Greece*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), p. 351-377.

settled in a territory from which it expands, but this people must not be nomadic. A central authority is the factor which unifies the universal state; thus centralized policy plays an enormous role in it. It is obvious that a world empire must have — and it is absolutely necessary indeed — an economic infrastructure to survive, but this essential fact must not be exaggerated in the historical interpretation, which must explain facts by a plurality of factors since the historical process cannot be considered only from a unique standpoint. Other factors like demographic growth and military skill must not be neglected at all in the explanation of the origins of a universal empire¹⁹. However, we must be extremely cautious when pointing at religious elements in world monarchies. World empires were mainly concerned with the exercise of power and for them theological doctrines were more a political instrument to justify expansion. The fact that historians in the Ancient World did not enumerate systematically the causes of the formation of a universal state and the features characterizing it, as a historian in modern times normally proceeds, does not mean at all that they were not conscious of their existence. Herodotus is an outstanding example of this consciousness. The theory of the succession of world empires, which is impregnated with political character, was going to have an enormous influence in the interpretation of historical reality²⁰.

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¹⁹ In a recent paper A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Disadvantages of Monotheism for a Universal State*, *CPh* 81 (1986), p. 285-297, has stressed the role of an efficient military defence for sustaining a world state (p. 285).

²⁰ A recent example is A.J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History*, 12 vol., Oxford 1934-1961. In Toynbee's historical system different civilizations, of which he distinguishes twenty-one, are the actors of history — some of them at the same time. After a «time of trouble» these civilizations build a universal state originating as an issue a «pax oecumenica» in their respective area of influence. In Toynbee's conception of history a civilization represents an answer to challenge. In opposition to Herodotus Toynbee has not a lineal conception of history, but a cyclical one. The survival through millennia of Herodotus' design of the world empires shows how clear was his perception and how living his historical thinking still is in spite of the fact of logical changes introduced in the formulation by different historians such as Toynbee.

LA RAPPRESENTAZIONE DEL SOVRANO NELLA VITA DI ARTASERSE PLUTARCHEA*

Il presente lavoro si propone di indagare due passi della *Vita di Artaserse* plutarchea: nel primo Plutarco descrive la cerimonia dell'incoronazione di Artaserse II (*Artaserse* 3.1-2); nel secondo passo trascrive il testo della lettera che Ciro il Giovane avrebbe inviato agli Spartani, sollecitandone l'aiuto contro il fratello (*Artaserse* 6.3-4). Poiché i due passi hanno attinenza con la figura del sovrano, ci sembra opportuno dare qualche ragguaglio preliminare sulla monarchia persiana.

* Nota bibliografica. A. ALFÖLDI, *Königsweihe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden*, in *Heimat und Humanität. Festschrift für K. Meuli*, Basel 1951, p. 11-16; G. BINDER, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*, Meisenheim am Glan 1964; M. BOYCE, *A History of Zoroastrianism* I-II, Leiden-Köln 1975 e 1982; P. BRIANT, *Forces productives, dépendance rurale et idéologies religieuses dans l'empire Achéménide*, in *Rois, tributs et paysans*, Paris 1982, p. 431-473; A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944; R. GHIRSHMAN, *La civiltà persiana antica*, tr. it., Torino 1972; G. GNOLI, *Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides*, in *Hommage universel à l'Iran. Commémoration Cyrus II*, Leiden 1974, p. 117-190; E. HERZFELD, *The Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1968; R.G. KENT, *Old Persian*, New Haven 1953²; A. PAGLIARO, *La concezione iranica della regalità*, in *Atti dell'VIII congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni (Roma 1955)*, Firenze 1956, p. 205-206; A. PAGLIARO-A. BAUSANI, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milano 1960 (A. Pagliaro ha curato la traduzione delle iscrizioni di Behistun e di Naqs-i Rostam di Dario I e la traduzione dell'iscrizione di Serse contro i Daiva; la sua traduzione è stata utilizzata nel presente lavoro); G. WIDENGREN, *Hochgottglaube im Alten Iran*, Uppsala 1938; ID., *The Sacral Kingship of Iran*, in *La regalità sacra. Contributi al tema dell'VIII congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni (Numen, Suppl. 4)*, Leiden 1959, p. 242-257; ID., *La légende royale de l'Iran antique*, in *Hommage à G. Dumézil*, Bruxelles 1960, p. 225-237; ID., *Les religions de l'Iran*, tr. fr., Paris 1968; ID., *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*, Köln - Opladen 1969; R.C. ZAEHNER, *Zoroastro e la fantasia religiosa*, tr. it., Milano 1962; *Le Zend-Avesta*, par J. Darmesteter, I-III, Paris 1892-1893. Sullo *xvarenah*: H.W. BAILEY, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford 1971; P. CALMEYER, *Zur Bedingten Göttlichkeit des Grosskönigs*, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 14 (1981), p. 55-60; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Le Xvarenah*, *AION* (ling.) 5 (1963), p. 19-31; G. GNOLI, *Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel Mazdeismo e nel Manicheismo*, *AION* N.S. 12 (1962), p. 95-128; ID., *Note sullo «Xvarenah-»*, in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemain emerito oblata*, Leiden 1984, p. 207-218; D.P. ORSI, *«Il daimon del re»*, *QS* 13 (1981), p. 259-269; A. Sh. SHAHBAZI, *An Achaemenid Symbol*, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 13 (1980), p. 119-147. Altra bibliografia nelle note.

I. LA MONARCHIA PERSIANA

1. *Lo xvarenah*

Elemento imprescindibile dalla figura del sovrano è lo *xvarenah*. Non è facile spiegare di che cosa si tratti. Secondo Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin la parola *xvarenah* sarebbe da mettere in relazione con *hyar*, sole; secondo Harold W. Bailey, il suo significato primario sarebbe «the good things of life»¹. Il concetto si applica, anche se non esclusivamente, al re: esso è «lo splendore luminoso e irradiante, il segno carismatico della regalità sacra dei sovrani dell'Iran»², ma anche «la *fortuna regia*,... il tocco regio che fa di un re un re ... così la regale *kwarenah* può essere correttamente tradotta come 'gloria', perché la *fortuna* di un re è *eo ipso gloriosa*»³.

Lo *xvarenah* è la gloria del re persiano, innanzitutto la sua gloria militare, la vittoria in guerra. Questo aspetto è colto da Eschilo, il quale nei *Persiani* mette in relazione la divinità del sovrano con l'esercito. Atossa, moglie di Dario e madre di Serse, sarebbe stata madre di un dio (Serse) se l'antico δαίμων non avesse abbandonato l'esercito (*Persiani* 155-158). Eschilo suggerisce che la divinità del re sia una divinità mediata, condizionata: Serse sarebbe stato un dio se l'antico δαίμων non avesse abbandonato l'esercito, cioè, se Serse non fosse andato incontro alla sconfitta. La divinità del re sembra dipendere dal suo successo militare; forse Eschilo coglie un aspetto della regalità persiana ma si esprime in modo improprio: non la divinità ma la regalità del re (cioè, il suo essere veramente re) si manifesta come successo militare, come fortuna in guerra, come capacità di acquisire gloria militare. A ragione Peter Calmeyer⁴ suggerisce che l'antico δαίμων⁵ in Eschilo sia l'iranico *xvarenah*.

La monarchia persiana si configura come monarchia militare. La vittoria — è ben noto — è attributo irrinunciabile per qualsiasi

¹ Per un esame del problema v. da ultimo G. GNOLI, *Note sullo «Xvarenah-»*, p. 207-212, con bibliografia.

² G. GNOLI, *Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel Mazdeismo e nel Manicheismo*, p. 98.

³ R. C. ZAEHNER, p. 175.

⁴ P. CALMEYER, p. 55-58.

⁵ Per il valore di δαίμων come *xvarenah* v. D.P. ORSI, p. 259-269; A. SH. SHAHBAZI, p. 129-130. I Greci hanno tradotto il termine iranico *xvarenah* anche con τύχη (fortuna), δόξα (gloria) e φῶς (luce), cf. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Le Xvarenah*, p. 19 e G. WIDEN-GREN, *Hochgottglaube im Alten Iran*, p. 151.

sovrano⁶, lo è anche per quello iranico che ripete annualmente il rituale della vittoria, sconfiggendo il drago usurpatore nella Festa del Nuovo Anno (v. *infra* III 4). Dario I conquistò il trono uccidendo di sua mano il Mago usurpatore e l'iscrizione di Behistun è la celebrazione delle sue vittorie. Nell'iscrizione di Naqs-i Rostam (par. 4) Dario scrive: «Se ora tu vuoi avere un'idea di quanti erano i paesi che Dario il re reggeva, guarda le figure che portano il trono. Allora saprai, allora questo ti sarà noto: la spada del Persiano è giunta lontano. Allora ti sarà noto: lontano dalla Persia il Persiano ha battuto il nemico». Dario III divenne re perché «sembrava superare di molto in coraggio i Persiani»: in occasione della guerra contro i Cadusi, aveva affrontato da solo in duello uno dei nemici, ottenendo presso i Persiani «il primato del valore»⁷. Ciro il Giovane è ritenuto degno del trono dai suoi sostenitori perché straordinariamente abile in guerra; nella lettera che invia agli Spartani, sollecitandone l'aiuto, segnala l'incapacità del fratello ad affrontare i pericoli, si vanta di avere più coraggio di lui e di essere più abile in guerra⁸. Prima dello scontro a Cunassa, Clearco chiede a Ciro se il fratello combatterà, Ciro risponde affermativamente⁹. La domanda non è oziosa, perché il re di Persia non sempre partecipa di persona al combattimento (v. *infra* par. 2). Ciro e Artaserse, invece, si affrontano in duello ed è questo che decide la battaglia: ciò si spiega perché si combatte per il trono. Dopo la battaglia Artaserse impone la sua verità: egli ha ucciso Ciro di sua mano; il Cario e Mitridate, che si vantano di aver ucciso Ciro, sono giustiziati perché il loro vanto offusca l'immagine di re vittorioso che Artaserse vuole (e deve) dare di sé¹⁰.

2. La prosperità

Nella mitologia persiana Yima è il prototipo mitico del sovrano. «Yima, signore dei buoni pascoli... come un sole a vederlo fra gli uomini, poiché durante il suo regno fece sì che bestie e uomini non morissero, fece sì che le acque e le piante mai si seccassero e che ci fosse una quantità inesauribile di cibo da mangiare. Durante il regno del valoroso Yima non ci fu né freddo né caldo, né vecchiaia, né morte, né malattia». Ma tutto ciò non è eterno, si mantiene fino a quando Yima

⁶ Cf. A. M. HOCART, *Kingship*, Oxford 1927, p. 21-31.

⁷ Diodoro XVII 5.3-6.1; cf. Giustino X 3.

⁸ Cf. Plutarco, *Artaserse* 6.1 e *infra* III 2.

⁹ Senofonte, *Anabasi* I 7.9.

¹⁰ Cf. Plutarco, *Artaserse* 14-16 e Senofonte, *Anabasi* II 1.11 e 3.19.

non mente, finché egli non «ammette una menzogna, una parola non vera, dentro la sua mente». Allora lo *xvarenah*, da lui posseduto, lo abbandona e passa nelle mani di Mitra. Si leva un usurpatore, Aži Dahaka; ma Yima è un re solare, pacifico: non sa difendersi, fugge, è scoperto e ucciso¹¹.

E' noto che in Iran esistevano due categorie di sovrani, i re lunari e i re solari. I re lunari, come quelli dei Parti, erano bellicosi; essi non si riconoscevano in Yima ma nell'eroe Faridun, uccisore del drago. I re solari, invece, che si riconoscevano in Yima, erano re pacifici: «Yima ne *peut pas se battre*, d'où son infériorité devant l'usurpateur»¹². Il tratto affiora in età achemenide. Serse non partecipò di persona alla battaglia di Salamina ma vi assisté, seduto su di un trono; Dario III osservò lo svolgimento delle battaglie di Isso e di Gaugamela, stando sul suo carro da guerra; le battaglie furono perse e Dario fuggì¹³.

Il quadro che si è delineato sembrerebbe in contraddizione con quanto affermato nel paragrafo precedente: lo *xvarenah* è la gloria militare del re di Persia, la monarchia persiana si configura come monarchia militare, il re si qualifica come capo militare. Non si tratta di contraddizione ma di complementarità. Essa è colta da Senofonte, il quale nell'*Economico* mette in rilievo come il re di Persia si dedichi con pari impegno alle opere agricole (l'attività principale in tempo di pace) e alle opere di guerra, mantenendo sempre in perfetta efficienza le truppe e favorendo la produzione alimentare¹⁴. Questa complementarità è espressa anche da Dario I in forma più articolata, tripartita:

«Dice il re Dario: possa Ahura Mazda portarmi aiuto con gli dei della casa reale; possa Ahura Mazda proteggere questo paese da un esercito (nemico), dalla carestia, dalla Menzogna (*Drauga*)! Su questo paese possa non venire un esercito nemico, né carestia, né la Menzogna»¹⁵.

Dario chiede aiuto ad Ahura Mazda e agli altri dei contro l'esercito nemico, contro la carestia e contro la menzogna. La difesa contro l'esercito nemico pertiene all'attività militare, di cui si è detto al par. 1. La menzione della carestia e della menzogna fa tornare alla mente il mito di Yima: egli perde lo *xvarenah* a causa della menzogna e deve

¹¹ Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, p. 102 e 161; G. WIDENGREN, *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 70-75.

¹² G. WIDENGREN, *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 75.

¹³ G. WIDENGREN, *The Sacral Kingship of Iran*, p. 251; *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 179.

¹⁴ Senofonte, *Economico* 4; v. in particolare 4.12.

¹⁵ Cf. R. G. KENT, *DPd* 12-24, p. 136.

fronteggiare l'usurpatore che gli toglie il regno, ma Yima, durante il suo regno, aveva assicurato la prosperità ai sudditi.

Anche il re achemenide si prende cura della prosperità dei sudditi; occorre, da un lato, che essi si impegnino nel lavoro, dall'altro che il re e i satrapi si impegnino nel tutelare il lavoro e nel migliorare la qualità e la quantità della produzione. I re achemenidi favoriscono l'allevamento del bestiame, lo sviluppo dell'arboricoltura, lo sviluppo dell'agricoltura attraverso la canalizzazione delle acque a scopo di irrigazione, l'incremento demografico; tutelano i lavoratori per mezzo delle guarnigioni sparse sul territorio. In occasione della Festa del Nuovo Anno, il re celebra riti che mirano a suscitare la fertilità universale. Il satrapo, che rappresenta il re nelle provincie dell'impero, deve impegnarsi (con l'aiuto del frurarco) affinché il territorio sotto il suo controllo produca e non sia devastato. Il paradiso — insieme residenza regia o satrapica, riserva di caccia e giardino — rappresenta il modello produttivo ideale per il territorio circostante¹⁶.

L'impegno del re e dei satrapi è finalizzato alla produzione e alla accumulazione della ricchezza. Ma già la vittoria in guerra produce ricchezza: acquisizione di terre, di uomini, di beni. «Parla il re Dario. Questi sono i paesi che vennero a me. Per volontà di Ahuramazdāh erano miei sudditi; *mi portavano tributi*» (*Behistun* 7). Quanto Dario afferma è ancora verificabile nei superstiti rilievi di Persepoli — la glorificazione della ricchezza e della potenza persiane —, dove sono raffigurati tutti i popoli soggetti che portano tributi al re. Dario organizzò amministrativamente l'impero e fissò il tributo per le satrapie, in metallo o in natura. Questi beni erano tesaurizzati. Ne dà testimonianza Senofonte, quando descrive i villaggi ricchi di beni che i mercenari greci trovarono in Armenia¹⁷; ne danno testimonianza le immense ricchezze (in metallo prezioso, in animali, in merci), trovate da Alessandro nelle grandi città dell'impero: Babilonia, Susa, Pasargade, Persepoli, Ecbatana¹⁸.

3. La giustizia

Compito dei sudditi, dei satrapi e dei re achemenidi è creare

¹⁶ Cf. P. BRIANT, p. 431-456.

¹⁷ Senofonte, *Anabasi* IV 4.7-9; cf. anche II 4.27.

¹⁸ Cf. B. GALLOTTA, *Capitali e gazofilacie nella Persia Achemenide* in *La città antica come fatto di cultura* (Atti del convegno di Como e Bellagio 16/19 giugno 1979), Como 1983, p. 131-145.

ricchezza. Del lavoro dei sudditi si occupa il *Fargard* 3 del *Vendidad*¹⁹; Pierre Briant, che ha esaminato il testo avestico, ne ha messo in luce i legami con la situazione di età achemenide: le esortazioni rivolte al contadino, perché si impegni nel lavoro, corrispondono alle linee generali di politica economica achemenide²⁰ e l'impegno nel lavoro è giustificato da una motivazione religiosa, favorire il trionfo del Bene sul Male.

«Qui sème le blé, sème le Bien: il fait marcher, marcher la Religion de Mazda; il allaite la Religion de Mazda... Quand fut créé le blé, les Daêvas sautèrent; quand il grandit, les Daêvas perdirent cœur; quand les nœuds vinrent, les Daêvas pleurèrent; et, quand l'épi vint, les Daêvas s'enfuirent. Dans la maison où le blé périt, les Daêvas habitent. Mais on dirait que c'est un fer chaud que l'on retourne dans leur bouche, quand le blé vient en abondance»²¹.

I *Daiva*, di cui parla il testo avestico, sono i demoni, le forze del Male: «en Iran comme aux Indes, il y a deux classes de dieux: les *ahura* (sscr. *asura*) et les *daêva* (sscr. *déva*). Les premiers incarnent la bonne conduite, les seconds la mauvaise»²². Nel *Fargard* 3 si pone ad Ahura Mazda la seguente domanda: «quel est le lieu où la terre a le plus de chagrin?»; Ahura Mazda risponde: «là où les bandes de démons se précipitent hors du terrier de la Druj (Menzogna)»²³. Pierre Briant osserva: «travailler la terre et engrosser la femme représentent donc la participation du paysan à la lutte du Bien contre le Mal, à la lutte de la Vérité contre le Mensonge (Druj)»²⁴.

Nella religione persiana l'opposizione Bene/Male si configura come opposizione fra Verità e Menzogna. La parola che significa Verità è *Asha* (nell' *Avesta*), *Arta* (nelle iscrizioni achemenidi); ma *Asha*/*Arta* significa propriamente Verità e/o Giustizia, concetti inscindibili e complementari. La parola che significa Menzogna è *Druj* (nell' *Avesta*), *Drauga* (nelle iscrizioni achemenidi). L'opposizione *Asha*/*Druj* è centrale nell'insegnamento di Zoroastro che si definisce «un sincero nemico del

¹⁹ Il *Vendidad* è una parte dell' *Avesta*, che comprende ventidue sezioni o *Fargard*. *Vendidad* propriamente significa «la legge contro i demoni».

²⁰ P. BRIANT, p. 435-443.

²¹ *Fargard* 3.31-32; cf. *Le Zend-Avesta* II, p. 42-44.

²² G. WIDENGREN, *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 36; cf. anche l'iscrizione di Serse contro i *Daiva* (A. PAGLIARO - A. BAUSANI, p. 31).

²³ *Fargard* 3.7; cf. *Le Zend-Avesta* II, p. 35.

²⁴ P. BRIANT, p. 437.

seguace della Menzogna e un potente sostegno del seguace della Verità»²⁵. Yima perde lo *xvarenah* allorché accoglie una menzogna nella sua mente; egli muore e, con la sua morte, finisce l'età dell'oro per gli uomini. Dario I afferma di aver ricevuto il trono da Ahura Mazda «perché io non ero sleale, non ero bugiardo... né io né la mia famiglia» (*Behistun* 63); «io non sono amico dell'uomo, che è un seguace della Menzogna» (*Naqs-i Rostam* 8b). Dario, infatti, chiede ad Ahura Mazda e agli altri dei di aiutarlo contro la Menzogna. Nell'iscrizione di Behistun Menzogna ha un significato politico: il Mago Gaumata, fingendo di essere Bardiya, il defunto fratello di Cambise, mentì al popolo e la Menzogna rese il popolo ribelle. Dopo aver ucciso il Mago Gaumata e aver riconquistato il trono agli Achemenidi, Dario dovette affrontare molte rivolte locali. I capi delle rivolte mentivano. Nella iscrizione di Behistun la Menzogna si manifesta concretamente come rivolta e usurpazione. Quando Dario chiede ad Ahura Mazda di aiutarlo contro la Menzogna, chiede al dio aiuto contro un pericolo interno, gli usurpatori e i ribelli. Ma sarebbe semplicistico ridurre la richiesta di Dario solo a questo.

Asha/Arta significa (lo si è detto) Verità e/o Giustizia ed è essenziale per il sovrano esercitare la giustizia, cioè essere giusto. Il re persiano, quando sale al trono, suole assumere un nuovo nome, che esprime un programma politico: il nome Artaserse, composto di *arta* e *xšaça* (regno), esprime il proposito di regnare nella giustizia²⁶. Serse affermava: «io venerai Ahuramazda e *Arta*»²⁷. Un Artaserse (forse il Mnemone) favorì a Sardi il culto di Zeus Baradates; Zeus è, con grande probabilità, Ahura Mazda; Baradates (cioè Bardata) significa Latore della Legge, Legislatore²⁸. Plutarco scrive che il re è stato designato dal dio (*i.e.* Ahura Mazda) legge per i Persiani e giudice del bene e del male (*Artaserse* 23.5). L'affermazione di Plutarco è esatta, purché la si intenda. Il re persiano non è capricciosamente legge per i suoi sudditi, legge nel senso di esercizio del potere; è l'interprete della legge divina, il

²⁵ Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, p. 33.

²⁶ Cf. R. G. KENT, p. 171.

²⁷ Cf. A. PAGLIARO-A. BAUSANI, p. 31 (la citazione è tratta dall'iscrizione di Serse contro i *Daiva*, par. 4b). In una iscrizione trovata nel 1967 nelle vicinanze di Persepoli Serse ripete i principi etici e politici, già espressi dal padre Dario nell'iscrizione di Naqs-i Rostam e introduce una novità: la menzione di *Arta* accanto ad Ahura Mazda; cf. A. PAGLIARO-A. BAUSANI, p. 27-28 e C. G. STARR, *Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C.*, *IA* 11 (1976), p. 55-57 e nota 41.

²⁸ Cf. L. ROBERT, *Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes. Règlement de l'autorité perse relatif à un culte de Zeus CRAI* 1975, p. 306-330.

mediatore fra i sudditi e la divinità Ahura Mazda, che è essenzialmente giustizia²⁹. Non potrebbe esercitare il suo potere, non sarebbe re, se non fosse giusto: in quanto capace di azioni giuste e in quanto capace di far rispettare la giustizia. Ma è giustizia che va al di là del singolo atto di rendere giustizia a chi abbia subito un torto; è giustizia dall'ampiezza cosmica, perché coinvolge il concetto di ordine e di armonia del cosmo, una giustizia che si manifesta nel ben ordinato procedere delle cose; ecco perché essa «abbraccia l'abbondanza di pioggia, la fertilità e una raccolta abbondante di frutti»³⁰.

Artabano spiega a Temistocle, ormai esule in Persia, che la legge più bella per i Persiani è onorare il re e adorarlo come immagine del dio che salva tutte le cose (Plutarco, *Temistocle* 27.4). Il re è l'immagine del dio (*i.e.* Ahura Mazda), altrettanto l'ordine imperiale è l'immagine dell'ordine divino, identità che trova la sua esaltazione nella Festa del Nuovo Anno. Questa festa, in genere, trae origine da un mito cosmogonico che racconta il passaggio dal caos primordiale all'ordine divino. Nel mito la sconfitta del caos è opera del dio, nel rito agisce il re, che prende il posto della divinità. Momento centrale del *Mithrakana* (l'antica Festa del Nuovo Anno persiana) è la vittoria del re sul drago che tiene prigioniero le acque, provocando siccità e desolazione. Il re uccide il drago, libera la pioggia e restituisce fertilità alla terra³¹. La lotta fra il re e il drago è la lotta fra il bene e il male; la vittoria del bene reca fecondità e prosperità, la vittoria del male reca sterilità e desolazione. E' il tema sviluppato nel *Fargard* 3. Il *Mithrakana* è la festa in onore di Mitra, colui che, secondo il mito, avrebbe preso in consegna lo *xvare-nah* fuggito da Yima. Anche Mitra, come Ahura Mazda, è il dio della funzione regale e della giustizia.

²⁹ «La legge, impersonata nella regalità, è la forma concreta con cui il bene si difende dal male, la giustizia si difende dall'ingiustizia che le si oppone. La creazione della legge per combattere l'ingiustizia porta necessariamente il promotore al potere, poiché per l'appunto questa è la funzione della regalità: combattere il male» (A. PAGLIARO, p. 205-206).

³⁰ J. ZANDEE, *Le Messie. Conceptions de la royauté dans les religions du Proche-Orient ancien*, RHR 180 (1971), p. 13, v. anche p. 11-17. Intendere in questi termini il rapporto regalità-justizia è tratto non specificamente iranico ma diffusamente alto-orientale. K. W. WHITELAM segnala i seguenti aspetti come caratterizzanti l'ideologia regale alto-orientale: «1. The king's true administration of justice was essential for cosmic harmony. 2. The corollary of this was that the fertility and prosperity of the nation was thus ensured» (*The Just King*, Sheffield 1979, p. 29, v. in generale p. 17-37).

³¹ Sulla Festa del Nuovo Anno e, in particolare, sul *Mithrakana* v. *infra* III 4.

II. LA CERIMONIA DELL'INCORONAZIONE

Plutarco racconta che Ciro, richiamato dall'Asia Minore a causa della malattia del padre, si recava a corte con la speranza di essere designato re e sapeva di poter contare sull'appoggio della madre Parisatide. Le sue speranze andarono deluse perché fu designato re il fratello maggiore Arsica, che assunse il nome di Artaserse II. Ciro decise di attentare alla vita del fratello ma il piano fu svelato da un sacerdote a Tissaferne e da questi ad Artaserse. Il piano di Ciro prevedeva l'uccisione del fratello *prima* che la cerimonia dell'incoronazione avesse inizio e la scelta del momento non era casuale: gli atti che Artaserse avrebbe compiuto nel corso della cerimonia avrebbero dato legittimità al suo potere e gli avrebbero conferito una regalità sacra. E' proprio questa legittimazione sacra che Ciro vuole impedire. Ma il piano fallì: Ciro fu denunciato, arrestato e poi liberato per l'intervento della madre. Tornò in Asia Minore e preparò la rivolta, le cui motivazioni sono elencate nella lettera che egli — secondo Plutarco — avrebbe inviato agli Spartani. Il potere, che Artaserse ormai esercita, è stato legittimato da una cerimonia sacra; nella lettera Ciro si propone di dimostrare che Artaserse non è re, mentre presenta se stesso come colui che è veramente degno del trono, perché in possesso di qualità regali. Passiamo, dunque, ad analizzare questi due luoghi plutarchei, alla luce delle considerazioni svolte nella prima parte del lavoro.

1. *L'educazione dei giovani persiani e la leggenda regale di Ciro*

Plutarco scrive:

«Poco dopo la morte di Dario, il re si recò a Pasargade per essere sottoposto alla iniziazione regale da parte dei sacerdoti persiani. Vi è un tempio di una dea guerriera che si potrebbe supporre essere Atena. L'iniziando, entrato nel tempio, deve deporre la propria veste e indossare quella che portava l'antico Ciro prima di diventare re; dopo aver mangiato una torta di fichi, deve poi masticare del terebinto e bere una tazza di latte acido. Se oltre a ciò fanno qualcos'altro, non è noto agli estranei» (*Artaserse* 3.1-2).

Plutarco è l'unico a descrivere la cerimonia d'incoronazione di un sovrano achemenide. Il designato, non ancora investito ufficialmente del potere, indossa la veste che portava Ciro il Vecchio prima di diventare re: presupposto di tale atto è la convinzione che, indossandone la veste, il futuro re acquisti le virtù del fondatore dell'impero.

Tale interpretazione è suggerita dall'uso, ripetuto, del verbo τελεῖν; esso definisce un atto di iniziazione, il cui significato generale ben si addice all'ascesa al trono di un nuovo sovrano. L'iniziazione è una rigenerazione, una seconda nascita dell'individuo che, in tal modo, entra a far parte a pieno titolo della comunità degli adulti. Per il sovrano è una rinascita nel capostipite, le cui qualità l'atto magico dell'indossarne la veste ha lo scopo di trasferirgli; per il regno, anche, è una nuova nascita, una rifondazione. Ulteriore legame con Ciro è il fatto che la cerimonia si svolgesse a Pasargade, la capitale del fondatore dell'impero.

La cerimonia dell'incoronazione comprendeva una seconda fase: il re doveva mangiare una torta di fichi, masticare del terebinto, bere del latte acido, prodotti di cui il fico e il latte tipici di una economia pastorale, non ancora o, comunque, non compiutamente agricola. Il fico è frutto presente in altri rituali iniziatici; l'albero è, inoltre, sacro ai pastori, che ne utilizzano il lattice³². Il latte acido ricorre, insieme all'olio di terebinto, nella dieta reale fissata da Ciro (Polieno IV 3.32), né desta meraviglia la sua sacralità in una economia di tipo pastorale, se si rammenta l'importanza del bue nella cultura indo-iranica.

Il terebinto è frutto spontaneo nelle regioni medio-orientali, tipico non di una economia pastorale avanzata, ma di una di tipo più arcaico, da popolo raccoglitore. E' ben noto che i Persiani ne facevano uso: οἱ μοι τοὺς τερμινθοφάγους Πέρσας οἷα ἀριστεύουσι, esclama Astiage mentre combatte con Ciro³³. Il terebinto ricorre anche nella dieta dei giovani durante il loro addestramento: «(i giovani imparano)... a dimorare nei campi, a cibarsi di frutti selvatici, terebinto, ghiande, pere selvatiche. Essi sono chiamati Cardaci e si mantengono col furto: infatti, è definito *karda* tutto ciò che è virile e guerriero» (Strabone XV 3.18). Strabone descrive una dieta silvestre, basata esclusivamente su frutti selvatici; i giovani, quando la osservano, risiedono «nei campi», cioè lontano dai luoghi abitati: ma, per cibarsi di terebinto, ghiande e pere selvatiche, probabilmente dimoravano nei boschi (cf. Ateneo I 67a). Essi, poi, esercitano la rapina³⁴ e si chiamano Cardaci: il fatto di

³² Cf. I. CHIRASSI, *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti e riti greci*, Roma 1969, p. 55-72.

³³ Nicolao di Damasco, *FGrHist* 90 F 66,34; cf. anche Eliano, *Varia Historia* III 39.

³⁴ Anche nell'ἀγωγή spartana è prevista una fase in cui il ragazzo deve rubare ed è punito solo se scoperto: Senofonte, *Costituzione degli Spartani* 2.6-8; Plutarco, *Licurgo* 17.4-6.

avere un nome specifico allude ad una fase ben definita dell'addestramento. Segregazione e rapina, allo scopo di acquisire capacità guerriere, sono elementi ampiamente presenti nei riti di iniziazione. «In aree culturali distanti si riscontra l'usanza rituale, che gli iniziandi, durante il periodo della segregazione, si danno a scorrerie, razzie, furti, rapine. Anche questo uso, presso gli stessi popoli interessati, può esser interpretato variamente: in certi casi se ne ha una spiegazione in funzione della preparazione alla vita (guerriera = razziatrice) degli adulti»³⁵; ed è questo il nostro caso.

Il primo atto della cerimonia a Pasargade è la vestizione del re con l'abito che indossava Ciro il Vecchio *prima* di accedere al trono. La leggenda regale di Ciro non è tramandata dalle fonti greche in maniera univoca: ne sono note tre versioni, rispettivamente in Erodoto (I 107-122), in Senofonte (*Ciropedia*) e in Nicolao di Damasco (*FGrHist* 90 F 66, da Ctesia). Secondo quest'ultimo Ciro era figlio di Atradate che, a causa della povertà, esercitava la rapina; la madre di Ciro allevava capre. Ciro entra al servizio di Astiage, re dei Medi, cui poi si ribella. Si svolgono tre battaglie fra Medi e Persiani (in questa occasione Astiage pronuncia la frase οἱ μοι τοὺς τερμινθοφάγους Πέρσας οἷα ἀριστέουσιν); l'ultima battaglia, che dà a Ciro la vittoria, si svolge a Pasargade.

Per primo Andreas Alföldi ha messo in luce l'affinità fra la giovinezza di Ciro — quale è narrata da Nicolao di Damasco — e la vita dei Cardaci straboniani, a proposito dei quali egli afferma: «das ist also ein echter Männerbund mit seinem Leben in der Wildnis und mit seiner besonderen Disziplin, und jene Jugendgeschichte des Kyros ist nichts anderes als die Mythisierung dieses Lebensideals, das der jeweilige König bei seiner Weihe neu vergegenwärtigen musste»³⁶. L'opinione di Alföldi è condivisa da Geo Widengren, secondo il quale «cette période de la vie du roi (= la giovinezza di Ciro) fait partie de la carrière normale d'un jeune noble iranien». Widengren esamina non solo la leggenda regale di Ciro il Vecchio ma anche altre, riguardanti successivi sovrani iranici nonché Mitridate Eupatore e i gemelli romani; riconosce come tratto peculiare «l'educazione del futuro re presso i pastori» e, dal momento che questi stretti legami con la «terza funzione» sono comuni alla leggenda iranica e a quella romana, ne suppone una origine indo-

³⁵ Cf. A. BRELICH, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Roma 1969, p. 35-36.

³⁶ A. ALFÖLDI, p. 15.

europea³⁷. L'osservazione di Widengren pare pertinente. Si è già visto, infatti, come il fico e il latte acido nella cerimonia d'incoronazione rinviino ad una economia di tipo pastorale. Non va, però, ignorato un altro dato: è la guerra che procura il trono ed il futuro re non è solo pastore, esercita anche la caccia e la rapina. Mitridate Eupatore, adolescente, per sfuggire alle insidie dei nemici, si rifugia nelle foreste e qui si fortifica, esercitando la caccia per sette anni (Giustino XXXVII 2.4-9). Secondo Firdausi, Kai Xosrau, allevato da pastori, a partire dall'età di dieci anni si dedica alla caccia delle bestie feroci. Arsace, fondatore della dinastia partica, era *solitus latrocinis et rapto vivere* (Giustino XLI 4.7; cfr. anche Ammiano Marcellino XXIII 6.2). Ciò vale anche in ambiente romano: «Die 'latrones' des Romulus — scrive G. Binder — waren ausgestossene 'Wölfe'; Romulus selbst und seine Hirtenschar waren Räuber. Bei Strabon heissen die Gefährten des Kyros κάρδακες, d.h. Räuber»³⁸. I Cardaci saranno noti nell'antichità come guerrieri e razziatori³⁹.

2. La dea Anaitis

I tratti fin qui rilevati sono: investitura del sovrano che ha la forma di una iniziazione; legame della cerimonia dell'incoronazione con l'addestramento dei giovani persiani; legame del re con il mondo della produzione (caccia e guerra da un lato, allevamento dall'altro). I medesimi tratti affiorano quando si sottoponga ad esame la divinità che presiedeva all'investitura, una dea guerriera che si potrebbe identificare con Atena. Al capitolo 23 dell'*Artaserse* Plutarco menziona un tempio di Era e al capitolo 27 un tempio di Artemide ad Ecbatana. E' sentenza comune che sotto Atena, Era e Artemide si nasconda la dea iranica Anaitis. I sovrani achemenidi si dichiarano devoti nelle loro iscrizioni ad Ahura Mazda, depositario del loro potere. E' certamente significativo che la cerimonia dell'incoronazione si svolga sotto gli auspici della dea Anaitis, una eredità prezoroastriana.

Anaitis plutarchea mostra affinità con Anaitis di età sassanide, anch'essa dispensatrice della regalità⁴⁰ e dea guerriera. Ardashir, il

³⁷ G. WIDENGREN, *La légende royale de l'Iran antique*, p. 236-237; cf. dello stesso autore *Der Feudalismus im Alten Iran*, p. 64-95.

³⁸ G. BINDER, p. 90 e, in generale, p. 89-93.

³⁹ Cf. Polibio V 79.11; 82.11; Elio Dionisio k.11 (Erbse), s.v. κάρδακες; Esichio, s.v. κάρδακες; Eustazio, *ad Il.* II 875 (= 368); Fozio, s.v. κάρδακες.

⁴⁰ Pare che i primi sovrani sassanidi portassero il titolo di «guardiani del tempio della dea» a Staxr (cf. M. L. CHAUMONT, *Le culte d'Anāhitā à Staxr et les premiers Sassanides*,

fondatore della dinastia sassanide, dopo aver sconfitto l'arsacide Ardan, ed essersi impadronito del potere, inviò al santuario di Anaitis le teste dei nemici uccisi. Altrettanto fece, in seguito, Sapore II. Proprio per l'affinità che si rileva fra la dea plutarchea e Anaitis di età sassanide Marie-Louise Chaumont è incline a svuotare la testimonianza di Plutarco e a ritenere che quella «dea guerriera» sia Anaitis quale era diventata in età partica, cioè al tempo di Plutarco, piuttosto che la divinità di età achemenide⁴¹. Ma di questo non si può essere sicuri. La definizione «dea guerriera» potrebbe essere di Plutarco e, dunque, riflettere ciò che la dea era diventata al suo tempo; poteva, però, figurare nella fonte utilizzata da Plutarco, Dinone o Ctesia (entrambi sono citati al capitolo 1 dell'*Artaserse* e spesso nell'intera *Vita*). Ctesia fu medico di Artaserse II, presso il quale visse 17 anni; Dinone visse verso la metà del IV secolo e, essendo — come pare — di Colofone, fu suddito di Artaserse II e di Artaserse III. Plutarco potrebbe aver conservato un dato contemporaneo o quasi ai fatti narrati. E' noto, inoltre, che Serse sacrificò mille buoi in onore di Atena Iliade⁴² e mille buoi sono di solito offerti ad Anaitis nello *Yasht* 5, a lei dedicato.

Anaitis nell'*Avesta* risulta dea delle acque, legata alla così detta «terza funzione», nutritiva. Nello *Yasht* 5, in suo onore e antico quanto le *Gatha*⁴³, Ahura Mazda si vanta di averla creata; le funzioni della dea risultano nell'Inno dispensare ricchezze, favorire la nascita degli uomini nonché la produttività in generale. Le si rivolgono quasi esclusivamente sovrani ed eroi e le chiedono vittoria sui nemici, gloria, ricchezza. Un episodio dello *Yasht* appare significativo: Fransrasyan, non ario, vuole impadronirsi dello *xvarenah* degli Aarii e si rivolge alla dea Anaitis (5,11,41-43). E' costei, infatti, «la signora di una grande quantità di *xvarenah*, il suo fiume...contiene tanto *xvarenah* quanto ne son ricche tutte le acque della terra»⁴⁴. Lo *xvarenah* è il *charisma* del re di Persia,

RHR 153, 1958, p. 156-158); di tali sovrani certamente l'ultimo fu incoronato nel tempio di Anaitis a Staxr ma non è escluso che ciò sia accaduto anche per i predecessori (cf. M. L. CHAUMONT, *Où les rois Sassanides étaient-ils couronnés?*, JA 252, 1964, p. 59-75). Su Anaitis v. ancora M. L. CHAUMONT, *Le culte de la déesse Anāhitā dans la religion des monarques d'Iran et d'Arménie au I siècle de notre ère*, JA 253 (1965), p. 167-181; G. GNOLI, *Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto i Sassanidi*, in *La Persia nel Medio Evo*, Roma 1971, p. 244-251; *Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides*, p. 126-131; M. BOYCE, II, p. 29-31, 201-204.

⁴¹ M. L. CHAUMONT, *Le culte d'Anāhitā à Staxr* (cit. n. 40), p. 158-161.

⁴² Cf. Erodoto VII 43.

⁴³ Cf. G. WIDENGREN, *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 23, n. 2.

⁴⁴ Cf. G. GNOLI, *Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel Mazdeismo e nel Manicheismo*, p. 101.

la sua fortuna che è, da un lato, fortuna in guerra (cioè gloria e vittoria), ma è anche fortuna che si materializza nella ricchezza e nella prosperità che il re è in grado di assicurare al popolo (v. *supra* I 1-2). Ed infatti, nell'inno in suo onore, sovrani ed eroi chiedono ad Anaitis vittoria, gloria, ricchezza. Quanto si è detto spiega, forse, perché la cerimonia di incoronazione di Artaserse II si svolga nel tempio di questa dea e perché, ancora in età sassanide, Anaitis mantenga il carattere di dispensatrice della regalità.

Anaitis è divinità complessa. Per questo i Greci, volta a volta, la identificarono con Atena, Era, Artemide e anche Afrodite⁴⁵, a seconda dell'aspetto che sembrava loro più rilevante. L'identificazione più frequente, e forse più pertinente, è con Artemide, con la quale Anaitis avrebbe in comune la funzione di «signora degli animali»⁴⁶. Le fonti greche riconoscono, inoltre, un legame fra Artemide e la divinità femminile dei Tauri, la cui statua sarebbe stata trafugata da Oreste e Ifigenia e portata dalla Tauride a Sparta (Artemis Orthia), ad Atene (Artemis Brauronia) o in Cappadocia (Artemis Tauropolos)⁴⁷. La notizia non è priva di interesse perché i Tauri sono Sciti, Iranici del Nord. Essi, secondo Erodoto, sacrificano alla Parthenos, Ifigenia, gli stranieri, cui usano tagliare la testa; vivono di rapina e di guerra (IV 103). Ifigenia è ἐπίκλησις di Artemide, nome con cui i Greci designavano anche Anaitis iranica; poco è noto della divinità femminile degli Sciti. Iscrizioni elleno-scite menzionano una Parthenos. Parthenos è Ifigenia (la divinità taurica secondo Erodoto) e Plutarco, là dove allude ad Anaitis con il nome di Artemide, informa che la sacerdotessa doveva osservare la castità (*Artaserse* 27.3). Esistono raffigurazioni scitiche di

⁴⁵ Cf. Erodoto I 131, ove Anaitis è confusa con Mitra; Berosso, *FGHHist* 680 F 11; Agatia, *Storie* II 24.8.

⁴⁶ «Nel territorio dell'Elimeia v'è un tempio di Anaitis, vivono lì leoni addomesticati che scodinzolano e fanno feste ai visitatori del tempio. E se tu li chiami mentre mangi, si avvicinano come invitati, prendono quanto tu offra loro e poi se ne vanno tranquilli e in buon ordine» (Eliano, *de natura animalium* XII 23). Polibio (XXXI 9) e Giuseppe Flavio (*Antichità Giudaiche* XII 354 e 358) conoscono un tempio non di Anaitis ma di Artemide in Elimeia; si tratta, ovviamente, della Περσική Ἀρτεμις (Pausania VII 6.6; Plutarco, *Lucullo* 24.6; Tacito, *Annali* III 62).

⁴⁷ Cf. Pausania III 16.7-8; per Artemide Orthia v. anche Filostrato, *Vita di Apollonio* 6.20; Sesto Empirico, *Pirronismo* III 208; per Artemide Brauronia v. Euripide, *Ifigenia Taurica* 1449-1468; per Artemide Tauropolos v. Strabone XII 2.3 e 7; V 3.12 e VII 4.2; Cassio Dione XXXVI 11; Procopio, *Guerre Gotiche* IV 5.23-24. Anche Diodoro mette in evidenza il legame fra gli Sciti e Artemide Tauropolos (IV 44 ss.; v. anche Luciano, *Sui sacrifici* 13; *Dialoghi degli dei* 244 e 274; *Toxaris* 2 s.; Sesto Empirico, *Pirronismo* I 149).

una divinità metà donna e metà serpente, circondata da bestie sacre, quali il corvo e il cane (anch'essa, dunque, «signora degli animali»), nonché rappresentazioni della dea mentre concede l'investitura ad un capo⁴⁸. Non è noto quale potesse essere il nome di questa dea⁴⁹.

Il carattere cruento è comune alla divinità taurica e all'Anaitis di età sassanide: vengono loro offerte le teste dei nemici uccisi e, in Plutarco, Anaitis è dea guerriera. Il rapporto con la investitura del sovrano vige per la divinità scitica e per Anaitis in età achemenide e sassanide. La divinità scitica e Anaitis sono «signore degli animali». La cerimonia di iniziazione del sovrano e l'addestramento dei Cardaci conservano tracce di vita arcaica (raccolta di frutti selvatici, rapina), inattuale al tempo di Artaserse II, forse ancora attuale, al tempo di Erodoto, nel caso dei Tauri di Scizia, che vivono di rapina. Ma ciò che conta di più è il fatto che Anaitis sia dea guerriera, depositaria dello *xvarenah*, e che distribuisca vittoria e prosperità. Ed infatti il re persiano, anch'egli depositario dello *xvarenah*, deve essere vittorioso in guerra e capace di garantire la prosperità ai sudditi.

III. LA LETTERA DI CIRO IL GIOVANE

Ecco il testo della lettera che Ciro il Giovane avrebbe scritto agli Spartani, sollecitandone l'aiuto:

«Ciro scrisse ai Lacedemoni, esortandoli a portargli aiuto e ad inviargli uomini ai quali — diceva — avrebbe dato, se erano fanti, cavalli, se erano cavalieri carri da guerra; se possedevano campi avrebbe loro donato villaggi, se possedevano villaggi avrebbe donato città. Il soldo alle truppe sarebbe stato misurato a peso, non contato. Vantandosi molto, affermava di avere un cuore più profondo di quello del fratello, di essere miglior mago e filosofo, di bere più vino e di saperlo tollerare; per viltà e debolezza, Artaserse non era capace di sedere sul suo cavallo durante la caccia, di sedere sul trono in occasione di pericoli. I Lacedemoni, dunque, inviarono la scitale a Clearco e gli ordinarono di mettersi a completa disposizione di Ciro» (*Artaserse* 6.3-5).

⁴⁸ Cf. T. TALBOT RICE, *Gli Sciti*, tr. it. Milano 1958, p. 56 e 80, tavola 30.

⁴⁹ Erodoto menziona tre dee: Tabiti/Estia, Api/Gē, Argimpasa/Afrodite Urania (IV 59.2). Il nome Api pare significare 'acqua' più che 'terra': «Cette déesse est donc de la famille d'Aramaiti, dont l'élément était la terre, et d'Anāhitā, définie par l'eau» (G. WIDENGREN, *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 187).

1. *La liberalità*

Nella lettera inviata agli Spartani Ciro promette di essere generoso con i soldati che lo aiuteranno. L'affermazione è tacciata di millanteria nel testo; forse, le va riconosciuto un valore diverso.

Tucidide osserva che gli Odrisi, come gli altri Traci ma al contrario dei re persiani, hanno stabilito la legge di ricevere piuttosto che di donare (II 97.4). Senofonte ricorda la generosità di Ciro nell'epitaffio che gli dedica (*Anabasi* I 9.22-26), generosità nella quale egli si rivela l'autentico erede di Ciro il Grande (*Ciropedia* VIII 2.2-4). Ancora Senofonte, nel passo dell'*Economico* dove mette in evidenza come il re si dedichi con pari impegno alle opere della guerra e alle opere agricole (v. *supra* I 2), informa che il re offre doni innanzitutto ai valorosi in guerra, poi a coloro che si siano distinti nell'agricoltura (*Economico* 4.15). Nel giorno del suo compleanno il re distribuisce doni ai Persiani e la legge prescrive che in tale occasione nessuno chieda un dono al sovrano senza riceverlo⁵⁰. Anche in occasione della designazione del successore, il re non può rifiutare di concedere il dono richiesto dal designato (Plutarco, *Artaserse* 26.5). Artaserse II appare spesso nella funzione di largitore di doni nella *Vita* plutarchea⁵¹, funzione a suo avviso «regale» (Plutarco, *Moralia* 172b). Ne risulta la necessità per il re di distribuire doni⁵²; le promesse fatte da Ciro vanno intese alla luce di quanto si è detto. Donare con larghezza è βασιλικόν, tratto essenziale per chi aspira al regno⁵³.

2. *Caccia e guerra*

Nella seconda parte della lettera Ciro vanta i propri meriti rispetto a quelli del fratello: egli possiede un «cuore più profondo», al fratello appartengono viltà e debolezza: «Artaserse non era capace di sedere sul suo cavallo durante la caccia, di sedere sul trono in occasione dei

⁵⁰ Erodoto IX 110-111; v. anche I 136; VIII 85; Nicolao di Damasco, *FGrHist* 90 F 103x4; Strabone XV 3.17; Ateneo I 29f; Temistio VIII 117b.

⁵¹ Cf. *Artaserse* 4.4-5.1; 10.3; 14; 22.2 e 9-10; 26.5.

⁵² L'elargizione di doni sarà tratto caratterizzante anche il monarca sassanide: ricca esemplificazione in A. CHRISTENSEN, p. 406-409.

⁵³ L'ampia disponibilità del re a donare, in un certo senso, non stupisce. L'economia regia achemenide è una economia di spesa: così la definisce lo Pseudo-Aristotele, distinguendola dall'economia satrapica che si occupa, invece, di riscuotere i tributi (*Economico* II 1.2 e 4; cf. M. CORSARO, *Oikonomia del re e oikonomia del satrapo*, *ASNP* III 10, 1980, p. 1163-1173).

pericoli». E' palese l'accostamento caccia/guerra: Artaserse non sa andare a caccia né sa affrontare situazioni di pericolo, cioè la guerra (la dea Anaitis, nel cui tempio Artaserse ha ricevuto l'investitura regale, è dea guerriera e «signora degli animali»).

«Guerriero e cacciatore: così raffigurano l'uomo il vasaio o l'incisore su pietra creando un'iconografia che diverrà canonica in tutte le epoche dell'arte iranica» scrive Roman Ghirshman⁵⁴ a proposito dei ritrovamenti di Siyalk, databili intorno all'VIII secolo a.C.; e la guerra praticano gli Iranici, quando giungono in Asia: sono cavalieri che vivono di guerra e di pastorizia, entrano come mercenari al servizio di dinasti locali e poi si sostituiscono a loro⁵⁵. L'addestramento dei fanciulli, dove è più facile si conservino tratti arcaici, si configura, anche se non esclusivamente⁵⁶, come addestramento militare. Fonti principali sono Erodoto (I 136), Senofonte (*Anabasi* I 9.2-6; *Ciropedia* I 2), Strabone (XV 3.18). Esse concordano nell'affermare che i fanciulli persiani, oltre a precetti morali e religiosi, imparano a tirare d'arco e di giavellotto, ad andare a cavallo e a caccia. Erodoto sintetizza in tre infiniti l'addestramento: ἰππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι⁵⁷; Senofonte mette esplicitamente in relazione caccia e guerra:

«quando il re esce per una battuta di caccia, e ciò avviene più volte ogni mese, una metà della guardia (*i.e.* una metà dei giovani dai 18 ai 28 anni) lo segue...La battuta avviene a cura e a spese dello stato, e la dirige il re come dirige i suoi uomini in guerra, intervenendovi di persona e badando che anche gli altri vi intervengano attivamente, poiché a giudizio dei Persiani la caccia è il più efficace addestramento che si possa avere per la guerra»⁵⁸.

Nella *Ciropedia* Senofonte si indugia sulle eccellenti doti di Ciro come cacciatore, altrettanto fa nei confronti di Ciro il Giovane (*Anabasi* I 9.6), visto come l'erede del grande Ciro. Non a caso, allora, di

⁵⁴ Cf. R. GHIRSHMAN, p. 50-53; la citazione è tratta da p. 53.

⁵⁵ Cf. R. GHIRSHMAN, p. 50-51.

⁵⁶ Per l'istruzione dei giovani nell'agricoltura cf. P. BRIANT, p. 449-451.

⁵⁷ Ai fanciulli persiani non si insegna una sola cosa: a leggere e a scrivere. Dagli *Annali* del re assiro Assurbanipal risulta che il re impara a cavalcare, a tirare d'arco e «la sapienza di Nabu e l'intera arte dello scrivere secondo le tradizioni dei maestri» (cf. A. BAUSANI, *Persia religiosa*, Milano 1959, p. 20). Anche Senofonte ne era rimasto colpito: i ragazzi persiani frequentano le scuole per imparare la giustizia «come presso di noi per imparare l'alfabeto» (*Ciropedia* I 2.6; cf. anche Nicolao di Damasco *FGrHist* 90 F 103x.5).

⁵⁸ Senofonte, *Ciropedia* I 2.9-10; tr. it. a cura di G. CARENA, Torino 1962, p. 240.

Artaserse II nel capitolo conclusivo della *Ciropedia*, ove Senofonte segnala la decadenza dei Persiani contemporanei, si legge:

«un tempo uscivano a caccia tanto spesso, che bastava la caccia per mantenere allenati gli uomini e i cavalli. Ma quando il re Artaserse e i suoi compagni cominciarono a darsi al vino, non uscirono più a cacciare, né vi condussero gli altri. E se c'era qualcuno che, amando la fatica, andava spesso a caccia con i propri cavalieri, i cortigiani non celavano la loro invidia e non gli perdonavano di essere migliore di loro»⁵⁹.

Nello stesso capitolo Senofonte accusa i Persiani a lui contemporanei di debolezza e di mancanza di coraggio in guerra. E' certamente sintomatico che sia proprio Senofonte, che aveva combattuto con Ciro, ad esprimersi così.

Strabone, citando da Onesicrito, trascrive il testo dell'iscrizione incisa sulla tomba di Dario I: φίλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην· κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν· πάντα ποιεῖν ἡδυνάμην (XV 3.8). La tomba di Dario I a Naqs-i Rostam è corredata di una iscrizione, molto lunga, in cui si legge: «come cavaliere, sono un buon cavaliere. Come arciere, sono un buon arciere, sia a piedi sia a cavallo» (8h). La concordanza col testo straboniano sussiste per la frase in cui Dario vanta i propri meriti come cavaliere e come arciere. La frase «ero amico per gli amici» (in Strabone) non trova corrispondenza specifica; il traduttore potrebbe aver reso con imprecisione la seguente affermazione di Dario: «l'uomo che collabora, in rapporto alla sua collaborazione, così lo ricompensa. Quello che fa danno, in rapporto al suo danno, io lo punisco»⁶⁰ (*Naqs-i Rostam*, 8c). «Potevo fare tutto» (in Strabone) è affermazione che ricorre nella iscrizione di Naqs-i Rostam (par. 4): «quello che ho detto, questo è stato fatto, come era il mio desiderio» e in quella di Behistun (par. 7): «quello che da me era detto, o di notte o di giorno, questo era fatto». Il confronto non è possibile per la frase straboniana che più interessa, κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν, frase che sarebbe imprudente accettare ma, forse, altrettanto ignorare. Oltre le osservazioni già svolte, va ricordato che istituzione ampiamente diffusa

⁵⁹ Senofonte, *Ciropedia* VIII 8.12, tr. it., p. 531.

⁶⁰ «Anche se il traduttore improvvisò, dovette tuttavia riferire il ricordo di Dario, conservato vivo dalla leggenda, per il quale la formula «sono stato l'amico dei miei amici» era alla base dei rapporti con gli esseri umani» (R. GHIRSHMAN, p. 116-117). Ciro il Giovane è ritenuto degno del trono dai suoi sostenitori anche perché φιλέταιρος (Plutarco, *Artaserse* 6.1).

in Persia sono i paradisi, parchi di caccia⁶¹. Dario a Persepoli si fece rappresentare mentre uccideva un leone e così su di un sigillo⁶²: può trattarsi di influenza dell'iconografia regale assira⁶³, ma, evidentemente, in tale iconografia il re persiano si riconosceva.

3. *Magia e filosofia*

Altro vanto menato da Ciro è di essere mago e filosofo (φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ μαγεύειν) migliore del fratello. Al capitolo 3.3 della *Vita di Artaserse* Plutarco, scrive che, quando stava per avere inizio la cerimonia dell'incoronazione, Tissaferne presentò ad Artaserse uno dei sacerdoti, quello che aveva dato a Ciro l'educazione tradizionale dei fanciulli e che gli aveva insegnato la magia. Sembrerebbe che i giovani persiani — tutti o, per lo meno, quelli appartenenti a nobile famiglia⁶⁴ — fossero sottoposti ad un periodo di addestramento tradizionale da parte dei sacerdoti (i Magi) e che questa educazione consistesse anche nell'imparare la magia.

I Magi erano una tribù della Media (Erodoto I 101); formavano una casta sacerdotale e la loro presenza era obbligatoria in ogni cerimonia religiosa. Secondo Esichio μαγεύειν significa θεραπεύειν θεούς; Platone per μαγεία intende θεῶν θεραπεία⁶⁵. I termini φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ μαγεύειν (presenti nel testo plutarco) sono complementari. Zoroastro è Περσομήδης σοφός (*Suda*, s.v.), che ἔρωτι σοφίας iniziò la sua predicazione⁶⁶; i Magi sono, secondo la definizione della *Suda* (s.v.), φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι. Che l'apprendimento della magia sia momento essenziale dell'educazione del futuro re è testimoniato, oltre che da Plutarco, anche da Nicolao di Damasco, Cicerone, Filone. Secondo Nicolao di Damasco, Ciro il Vecchio era esperto quant'altri mai nella filosofia che aveva appreso dai Magi (*FGrHist* 90 F 67); secondo Cicerone, *nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse qui non ante Magorum*

⁶¹ Per i paradisi cf. W. FAUTH, *Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradiesis, Persica* 8 (1979), p. 1-53; P. BRIANT, p. 451-456.

⁶² Cf. W. HINZ, *Darius und die Perser*, Baden baden 1976, figura 44 e tavola 34.

⁶³ Cf. J. B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton 1954, figure 182 e 184 (quest'ultima rappresenta Assurbanipal che va a caccia di leoni). Cf. anche A. BAUSANI, *Può l'antica religione iranica contribuire a una ricostruzione della «religione indoeuropea»?*, *SMSR* 36 (1965), p. 188, n. 17.

⁶⁴ Cf. Senofonte, *Anabasi* I 9.3; Nicolao di Damasco *FGrHist* 90 F 67.

⁶⁵ *Alcibiade* I 122a; cf. anche Diogene Laerzio, Proemio 6; Filostrato, *Lettere di Apollonio* 17; *Vite dei Sofisti* 494.

⁶⁶ Cf. Dione Crisostomo XXXVI 40; cf. anche XLIX 7.

disciplinam scientiamque perceperit (de divinatione I 91). Il divieto di diventare re dei Persiani per chiunque non sia prima entrato in contatto con i Magi è ribadito da Filone (*de specialibus legibus* III 100). Notizie più dettagliate sono fornite da Platone. A 14 anni il figlio del re è affidato ai pedagoghi regi, scelti fra i migliori:

«il più sapiente, il più giusto, il più saggio, il più coraggioso. Di questi l'uno insegna la magia, quella di Zoroastro, figlio di Oromazes — si tratta del culto degli dei —, insegna anche il mestiere di re; il più giusto gli insegna a dire la verità per tutta la vita⁶⁷; il più saggio gli insegna a non farsi vincere neanche da uno dei piaceri, perché il ragazzo si abitui ad essere libero ed effettivamente re, governando innanzitutto i propri istinti senza esserne servo; il più coraggioso lo deve rendere privo di timore e audace, dal momento che sarebbe schiavo, qualora temesse»⁶⁸.

Porfirio sapeva che Δαρείων τὸν Ὑστάσπου ἐπιγράψαι τῷ μνήματι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι καὶ μαγικῶν γένοιτο διδάσκαλος (*de abstinentia* IV 16). Nella iscrizione di Naqs-i Rostam la parola 'magia' non figura, né Dario afferma di essere μαγικῶν διδάσκαλος; pure, l'informazione fornita da Porfirio merita di essere presa in considerazione.

L'educazione dei fanciulli persiani, e anche del futuro re, non era solo addestramento militare (v. par. precedente), era anche educazione religiosa. Essa consisteva nell'apprendimento del patrimonio culturale (cf. Strabone XV 3.18) e di precetti etico-religiosi: dire la verità, praticare la giustizia e la saggezza, sapersi dominare, comandare e ubbidire⁶⁹. Si può rilevare la puntuale concordanza fra le notizie fornite dalle fonti greche e l'iscrizione funebre di Dario I a Naqs-i Rostam, ove Dario ripercorre tutta la sua vita e rivela i principi etico-religiosi, che sono anche i suoi principi politici, cui si è ispirato per l'azione. Ecco un confronto:

a. I fanciulli persiani imparano a dire la verità. Scrive Dario: «io non sono amico dell'uomo che è un seguace della Menzogna» (*NiR* 8b); ancora, nell'iscrizione di Behistun (par. 63): «per questa ragione mi portò aiuto Ahuramazdāh e gli altri dei quanti sono, perché io non ero sleale, non ero bugiardo».

⁶⁷ La connessione qui istituita fra giustizia e verità sembra un tratto persiano, v. *supra* I 3.

⁶⁸ Cf. Platone, *Alcibiade I* 122a; v. anche Apuleio, *Apologia sive de magia* 26 (brano tratto da Platone).

⁶⁹ Erodoto I 136; Senofonte, *Anabasi* I 9.2-6; *Ciropedia* I 2; Platone, *Alcibiade I* 122a; Nicolao di Damasco *FGrHist* 90 F 67; Strabone XV 3.18.

b. I fanciulli imparano a praticare la giustizia. Scrive Dario: «io sono di tale indole che sono amico del giusto e non sono amico del malvagio. Non è mio desiderio che il debole debba subire torto dal potente, né che il potente debba subire torto dal debole. Ciò che è giusto, questo è il mio desiderio» (*NiR* 8a-b).

c. I fanciulli imparano a sapersi dominare. Scrive Dario: «io non sono iroso; ciò che mi viene nella collera, io tengo saldamente: io sono saldamente padrone del mio proprio animo» (*NiR* 8b).

Si è già visto come Dario affermi nell'iscrizione di essere stato un buon cavaliere e un buon arciere (*NiR* 8h). I tre infiniti erodotei, che sintetizzano l'addestramento dei fanciulli: ἵππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι (I 136.2), trovano perfetta corrispondenza nell'iscrizione.

Forse diventa più chiara l'affermazione di Porfirio: Dario μαγικῶν διδάσκαλος; la frase è una felice sintesi di quanto Dario, oltre al resto (πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις), dice di sé. Ed è la stessa cosa che Ciro dice di sé, quando afferma di essere mago e filosofo migliore del fratello. La conoscenza del patrimonio culturale e dei precetti etico-religiosi è parte essenziale dell'educazione dei giovani persiani; essa è ancora più importante per il re, che è anche sacerdote: veste di bianco (colore dei sacerdoti) e di rosso (colore dei guerrieri); presiede al sacrificio (Dario si fa rappresentare a Naqs-i Rostam davanti all'altare del fuoco, in atto di sacrificare ad Ahura Mazda), non è dio ma il più vicino fra gli uomini alla divinità⁷⁰.

4. *Il Mithrakana*

Rimane da considerare l'ultima affermazione che Ciro fa nella lettera che avrebbe inviato agli Spartani: bere più vino e tollerarlo. Senofonte, nell'ultimo capitolo della *Ciropedia*, adduce a segno della decadenza persiana il fatto che, da quando il re Artaserse e il suo seguito hanno incominciato a darsi al vino, non sono più usciti per andare a caccia (VIII 8.12). Quanto già visto induce a ritenere che anche in questo caso la spiegazione vada ricercata nell'ambito delle attribuzioni del sovrano.

Dario, l'uccisore dei Magi, aveva questa iscrizione sulla tomba: «potevo bere molto vino e sopportarlo bene». Così scrive Ateneo (X 434d). E' la terza volta che una fonte greca cita dall'iscrizione funebre

⁷⁰ Cf. Senofonte, *Ciropedia* VIII 3.13; Curzio Rufo III 3.17; G. WIDENGREN, *The Sacral Kingship of Iran*, p. 251-254.

di Dario I, ma nulla di simile si legge a Naqs-i Rostam. Ateneo così prosegue:

«Ctesia dice che in India non è permesso al re di ubriacarsi. Presso i Persiani è concesso al re di ubriacarsi in un solo giorno, quello nel quale sacrificano a Mitra. Così scrive Duride nel VII libro delle *Storie*: solo in occasione della festa che i Persiani celebrano in onore di Mitra il re si ubriaca e danza la *persiana*⁷¹; nessun altro in Asia lo fa ma tutti, per quel giorno, si astengono dalla danza» (X 434d-e).

Al sovrano persiano è concesso di ubriacarsi solo in onore di Mitra, gli è vietato per il resto dell'anno: ciò, probabilmente, allude ad un obbligo rituale.

La festa in onore di Mitra è nota con il nome di *Mithrakana*: era l'antica Festa del Nuovo Anno e cadeva nel mese di settembre. Si celebrava anche in periodo sassanide, nel quale si presentava con il carattere di festa dell'incoronazione⁷². La Festa del Nuovo Anno, ampiamente diffusa e dai tratti pressoché simili un po' dovunque, ripete un mito cosmogonico e celebra il rinnovarsi della vita, nonché la rigenerazione della comunità: quest'ultima si realizza ricreando le condizioni del caos primordiale e liberandosene attraverso la ripetizione dell'atto cosmogonico iniziale. In genere vi si possono rintracciare due momenti: il primo è l'espulsione dei peccati, sia nella forma della purificazione rituale, sia, drammaticamente, con l'allontanamento o l'uccisione di un animale o di un uomo, che si fa carico dei peccati della comunità⁷³. Il secondo momento è la celebrazione della festa. Nella celebrazione il re sostituisce il dio che agisce nel mito; ed infatti il re, in quanto garante dei ritmi naturali, ha la responsabilità della rigenerazione del tempo. Le notizie sul *Mithrakana* sono scarse e tarde; che il mito e il rito fossero antichi, probabilmente prezoroastriani, pare confermato da puntuali risposdenze in ambiente indiano. I dettagli, che si riesce a ricostruire, sono i seguenti: il paese è colpito dalla siccità per colpa di un drago che tiene prigioniera due fanciulle. Il dio (*i.e.* il re) uccide il drago, celebra le sacre nozze con le fanciulle e fa ritornare la pioggia. La vittoria sul drago, o su di un mostro che controlla le acque, è, in genere, momento centrale di una cosmogonia (così, a Babilonia la vittoria di Marduk su Tiamat, in Grecia di Zeus su Tifone, in India di

⁷¹ Cf. Senofonte, *Ciropedia* VIII 7.1; Ateneo I 16a e XIV 629d.

⁷² Cf. A. CHRISTENSEN, p. 173-174, 301-302.

⁷³ Di ciò rimane traccia nella celebrazione di età sassanide, cf. A. CHRISTENSEN, p. 174.

Indra, il corrispettivo indiano di Mitra, su Vṛtra, ecc.); si coglie nella celebrazione persiana anche l'allusione al rinnovarsi della vita (il ritorno della pioggia: infatti, la festa si svolgeva a settembre, al termine del periodo estivo)⁷⁴.

Ateneo informa che in onore di Mitra il re danzava e si ubriacava. E' difficile definire il valore di danza e ubriachezza, al di là di un significato genericamente religioso: la danza è di per sé un atto di culto, una forma di preghiera. Si può segnalare un aspetto più specifico: come il re, danzano i membri dei Männerbünde, le «società segrete» la cui esistenza è accertata anche in Iran. Vi fanno parte giovani la cui attività è la guerra. Portano capelli lunghi, combattono nudi, sono chiamati 'lupi', spargono il terrore, coltivano l'estasi, danzano, venerano un eroe uccisore del drago, sono devoti di Mitra. Accanto a questi aspetti di morte si colloca la celebrazione di riti di fecondità: come i Luperci romani, i quali «waren Abbilder der 'latrones' des Romulus»⁷⁵. Il re, dunque, è «als Führer der tanzenden Gefolgsmänner...anzusehen»⁷⁶. Quanto all'ubriachezza⁷⁷, innanzitutto essa si presenta con il carattere dell'eccezionalità: al re è concessa solo in quella occasione, proibita per tutto il resto dell'anno. E' una manifestazione di tipo orgiastico, con cui nelle Feste del Nuovo Anno si suole alludere al caos, all'abolizione di ogni ordine sociale. Ma nella religione iranica è di natura orgiastica il rito del *haoma*, legato al culto di Mitra, nonché l'estasi, cui si abbandonano i giovani 'lupi'. «It is probably the use of haoma to which Greek writers refer when they describe royal drunkenness during the Mithraic festival»⁷⁸; il sacrificio del *haoma* è allusivo del rinnovamento della vita⁷⁹, come la festa in onore di Mitra. Ernst Herzfeld non ha dubbi: il

⁷⁴ Cf. G. WIDENGREN, *Hochgottglaube im Alten Iran*, p. 146-163; *Les religions de l'Iran*, p. 58-63; M. ELIADE, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses* I, Paris 1976, p. 334-335.

⁷⁵ Cf. G. BINDER, p. 90. Non è questa la prima volta che si viene a parlare dei giovani persiani, che fanno parte dei Männerbünde, e dei *Latrones Romuli*: essi erano stati già menzionati a proposito della giovinezza di Ciro il Vecchio, dei Cardaci straboniani, della cerimonia di incoronazione di Artaserse II (v. *supra* II 1).

⁷⁶ Cf. G. WIDENGREN, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*, p. 15-21; la frase riportata nel testo è a p. 21, n. 60.

⁷⁷ La valenza positiva riconosciuta alla ubriachezza risulta anche da quanto afferma Erodoto: i Persiani decidono quando sono ubriachi (I 133.3-4; cf. Strabone XV 3.20; Plutarco, *Moralia* 714a).

⁷⁸ *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, by R. A. BOWMAN, Chicago 1970, p. 8.

⁷⁹ Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, p. 34-36, 92-104; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *L'Iran antico e Zoroastro*, in *H.Ch.Puech, Storia delle religioni* I.1. *L'Oriente e l'Europa nell'antichità*, tr. it. Roma-Bari 1976, p. 323-324.

haoma è il vino. Per indicare il vino i Persiani crearono una parola diversa da quella usata dagli indoeuropei⁸⁰. Il legame del re con i *Männerbünde*, la presenza di Mitra, la mancanza pressoché totale di informazioni su questa festa nell'*Avesta* (di qui la difficoltà nel ricostruirla), tutti questi elementi concorrono a configurare la cerimonia come molto arcaica. Nonostante gli Achemenidi vantino la loro devozione ad Ahura Mazda, oggetto di culto in questa festa e nella cerimonia dell'incoronazione sono due divinità che lo zoroastrismo aveva cercato di emarginare.

Nella lettera che invia agli Spartani, il re vanta di saper reggere il vino meglio di Artaserse. Anche Dario I avrebbe menato lo stesso vanto. Già Eustazio, mettendo in relazione le notizie conservate da Ctesia e da Duride con la frase che sarebbe stata incisa sulla tomba di Dario, inferiva che Dario πολυπότης μὲν ἄν εἴη, μέθυσος δὲ οὐ (ad. *Odys.* XVIII 3). Questo è, forse, ciò che il re intende affermare nella lettera agli Spartani, affermazione che potrebbe intendersi alla luce della situazione rituale che si è illustrata. Il re deve essere capace di non violare la prescrizione religiosa che gli vieta di perdere il controllo di sé, se non in onore di Mitra. E' evidente che il *Mithrakana*, per i suoi contenuti, è momento centrale nella vita dell'intera comunità: è la celebrazione della vittoria, non solo della vittoria del re sul nemico; ciò che conta di più è la sconfitta della siccità e il rinnovarsi della vita. Come negli altri casi, anche qui il vanto di il re pare coinvolgere lo specifico della regalità.

IV. CONCLUSIONE

Nella prima parte del presente lavoro ci si è occupati della monarchia persiana e si è visto come per il sovrano sia indispensabile ottenere la vittoria in guerra, garantire la prosperità dei sudditi, esercitare la giustizia. I medesimi tratti si sono rintracciati nella cerimonia dell'incoronazione e nella lettera che il re il Giovane avrebbe scritto agli Spartani. In particolare, la dea Anaitis, nel cui tempio si svolgeva la cerimonia dell'incoronazione, è apparsa dea guerriera, depositaria dello *xvarenah*, dispensatrice di vittoria, gloria, ricchezza. Artaserse II manifestò grande devozione verso la dea: primo fra i re Achemenidi, la menzionò nelle sue iscrizioni accanto ad Ahura Mazda e a Mitra e ne diffuse il culto

⁸⁰ E. HERZFELD, *The Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 252-253. Sul *haoma* v. anche M. BOYCE, I, p. 157-165.

nell'impero⁸¹. Artaserse aveva dovuto difendersi dal tentativo di usurpazione del fratello; le manifestazioni di devozione verso la dea potrebbero aver avuto lo scopo di riaffermare la legittimità del suo potere contro il tentativo di usurpazione⁸².

Anche Ciro doveva dimostrare la legittimità della sua aspirazione al trono e non poteva farlo che rivendicando a sé i requisiti regali che, a suo avviso, mancavano al fratello. La sua lettera agli Spartani delinea il ritratto del sovrano iranico, mago, guerriero vittorioso, elargitore di doni. Ciro afferma di essere tale e, per questo, vuole essere il re: in Persia, dove il trono non toccava necessariamente al figlio maggiore, tale aspirazione era legittima, unica norma certa per la successione essendo l'appartenenza del trono alla famiglia degli Achemenidi.

Si può segnalare un altro dato. Senofonte e Ctesia raccontano che Ciro fu calunniato da Tissaferne presso il fratello e Artaserse prestò fede alla calunnia. Per questo Ciro fu arrestato, condannato a morte e salvato dall'intervento della madre Parisatide. Ritornato nella sua satrapia, dopo essere stato disonorato e aver rischiato la vita, Ciro decise di ribellarsi⁸³. La prima impressione che si ricava dal racconto in Senofonte e in Ctesia è che causa della rivolta di Ciro fu il disonore subito e il pericolo corso: una motivazione che sembrerebbe quasi privata. Nel racconto di Senofonte e di Ctesia c'è anche un altro elemento: Tissaferne calunniò Ciro e Artaserse si lascia persuadere. La calunnia è una falsa accusa, una menzogna: Ciro appare vittima di una menzogna che Artaserse accoglie⁸⁴. Menzogna (come si è visto) è concetto centrale nell'ambito politico e in quello religioso⁸⁵. Dario combatte gli usurpatori perché mentono e, proprio per questo, è aiutato nella sua lotta da Ahura Mazda; Yima perde lo *xvarenah*, non appena accoglie una menzogna nella sua mente; una volta perso lo *xvarenah*, «Yima aveva cessato automaticamente di essere un re»⁸⁶. L'informazione relativa alla calunnia di Tissaferne è presente nel testo di Senofonte, filocireo, e in quello di Ctesia, il quale, forse, aveva simpatia per

⁸¹ Cf. R. G. KENT, p. 154-155; Berosso di Babilonia *FGrHist* 680 F 11.

⁸² Cf. G. GNOLI, *Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides*, p. 129.

⁸³ Senofonte, *Anabasi* I 1.1-4; Ctesia *FGrHist* 688 F 16,57.

⁸⁴ Dario, invece, aveva affermato: «Ciò che un uomo dice contro un altro non mi convince, sino a che colui non soddisfi il protocollo regolare [porti prove]» (*NiR* 8d).

⁸⁵ V. *supra* I 2.

⁸⁶ Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, p. 175.

Ciro⁸⁷. Ciro, dunque, potrebbe aver utilizzato a suo favore il concetto di calunnia per giustificare la decisione di ribellarsi al fratello.

Ad ogni modo, la lettera che, secondo Plutarco, Ciro avrebbe inviato agli Spartani, sembra contenere le motivazioni pubbliche della rivolta, forse più adatte ad un interlocutore persiano che ad uno greco. La lettera dimostra che l'istituzione è salda, più della persona del sovrano; la rivolta non è contro l'istituzione ma contro il (falso) re in nome dell'istituzione.

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⁸⁷ Cf. D. P. ORSI, *Tracce di tendenza anticirea, Sileno* 5-6 (1979-80), p. 113-146.

«SACRED» AND «SECULAR»

Ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια and the Classical Athenian Concept of the State*

All known religious beliefs, whether simple or complex, present one common characteristic: they presuppose a classification of things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designated by two distinct terms which are translated well enough by the words profane and sacred (*profane*, *sacré*). This division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought¹.

As is now widely recognized, Durkheim's thesis is an oversimplification — provocative, revealing, and yet in need of qualification, restatement and nuance, especially as it applies to complicated and sophisticated cultures². The fundamental insight in this portion of Durkheim's work — that the distinction between sacred and profane reflects and is reflected by the social order of the society — has, however, great importance for the study of the ancient Greeks and illumines many aspects of their society. Since the nature and expression of that distinction varies from time to time and from place to place among the Greeks, as it does among other peoples, it can provide a valuable way of approaching the varied forms of social organization and cultural expression within that civilization³.

The Greek language has a rich vocabulary to express the distinction

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¹ E. DURKHEIM, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. J. W. Swain, London 1976², p. 37.

² See, for example, Mary DOUGLAS, «Pollution». *Implicit Meanings*, London 1975, p. 50, and J. BEATTIE, *Ritual and Social Change*, *Man* N.S. 1 (1966), p. 61-63.

³ Sacred and profane realms were distinguished by rituals as well as by spoken words. In sacrifice, for example, a circle would be formed before the moment of sacrifice to mark off the sacral area from more profane surroundings. See W. BURKERT, *Homo Necans*, trans. P. Bing, Berkeley 1983, p. 4.

between the sacred and the profane⁴. Yet in modern discussions of the ancient Greeks the richness of their vocabulary is often levelled, and equated with the modern distinction between «sacred» and «secular». The development of the Greek *polis*, or at least of Athens, is then often represented as a gradual movement from an era of archaic religiosity to one of classical secularism, with traditionalists maintaining a devotion to ancestral patterns of belief and the advocates of social change fighting for a more secular organization of society. A short essay cannot hope thoroughly to explore the use of the distinction between sacred and secular in our thinking about the Greek *polis*, but in relatively short compass it is possible to look at one way in which some Greek speakers drew a distinction between specifically sacred things, esp. sacrifices and offerings to the gods (*ta hiera*), and those of great importance to the order of society and the favor of the gods but not specifically sacral (*ta hoshia*). The collocation of the terms *hiera* and *hoshia* or their cognates is an especially productive one for closer examination, even though it is by no means easy to interpret⁵. It is certainly not a straight-forward equivalent to Durkheim's distinction between sacred and profane, nor a close analogue to the conventional contrast between sacred and secular. Yet it is an important and revealing clue to Greek, or perhaps specifically Athenian, thinking about the relation between the divine and the human realms.

⁴ Among the linguistic expressions of the distinction are:

a. τὰ τε θιῆια καὶ τὰνθρώπινα in the decree for the poinikastas Spensitheos, originally published by L. H. JEFFERY and A. MORPURGO-DAVIES, *Kadmos* 9 (1970), p. 118-154, esp. p. 124 lines 4 ff. For the contrast see also *Inscriptiones Creticae* III iii 4, 14. On τὰ θιῆια καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα see *IC* IV 72 × 42 = R. WILLETS, *The Law Code of Gortyn*, Berlin 1967, cf. *SIG*³ 526.29, 35 (Itania on Crete) and see *SGDI* 4940.26 (Allaria on Crete). The Attic parallel is the use of forms of θεῖος: Andocides I (*On the Mysteries*) 139 et al.

b. ἱερὰ καὶ βέβηλα or cognates. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* VII 8.4. Cf. Sophocles, *OC* 10. In Thasian legal procedure: L. H. JEFFREY, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p. 412, no. 76. Cf. Cyrene *SEG* IX 72, lines 10 ff.

c. ἱερὰ καὶ δημόσια. Solon fr. 4, line 12, cf. Suidas s.v. ταμίαι (Tau 58, Adler). Hippodamus' treatise distinguished three types of land: *hiera*, *demosia* and *idia* according to Aristotle, *Politics* II 1267b, cf. VI 1320a. See also Diodorus Siculus VIII 11, and *SIG*³ 742.25, 633.80, 1015.9. Πολιτικός 'civic' can be used in a similar way: *SIG*³ 459.6, 526.35, *OGIS* 267.29. See also Xenophon, *Hell.* VI 1.2.

d. ἀγλνὰ κ[αί] κοινὰ in the C. Vibius Salutaris inscriptions: H. WANKEL, *Inchriften von Ephesos* I A, Bonn 1979, no. 27, line 303.

⁵ Among the most useful discussions are M. H. A. L. H. VAN DER VALK, *Zum Worte ΟΣΙΟΣ*, *Mnemosyne* Ser. 3, 10 (1942), p. 113-140; E. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Paris 1969, p. 179-202; J. RUDHARDT, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse... dans la Grèce classique*, Geneva 1958, p. 34-36; H. JEANMAIRE, *Le substantif HOSIA*, *REG* 58 (1945), p. 66-89; A. W. H. ADKINS, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960, p. 132-138, and Jane HARRISON, *Prolegomena*, Cambridge 1908, p. 500-506.

The difficulties of understanding the terminology are evident when one concentrates on the term *hosios*, which is sometimes translated «pious», «religious», «hallowed», «pure» or «holy», and at other times «secular» or «profane». These, to be sure, are often over-translations, but the complexity is real enough, as the lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones indicates in its entry on *hosios*: «The sense of *hosios* depends on its relation on the one hand to *dikaïos* (sanctioned by human law), and on the other to *hieros* (sacred to the gods)». Context, of course, governs the meaning of the word, but the context is itself a reflection of social setting and the mentality and values of the speaker. Thus in many cases the context makes it clear that *hosios* is being used as a near synonym for *hieros*, *hagnos*, *eusebes* vel sim⁶. But in other settings it is used to refer to ideas of the proper relationships among human beings, especially justice⁷. This is especially frequent in classical Athens where, although *hosios* and its cognates continue to be used for ritual correctness or purity, the other end of the semantic range predominates⁸. A passage in Plato's *Gorgias*, however, provides an illuminating example. In this passage Socrates sums up his argument against Callicles:

And further, the sensible man (ὁ σῶφρων) will do what is fitting as regards both gods and men; for he could not be sensible if he did what was unfitting. That must needs be so. And again, when he does what is fitting as regards men, his actions will be just, and as regards the gods, pious (*hosia*); and he who does what is just and pious must needs be a just and pious man⁹.

Here *to dikaion* and *to hosion* are presented as two distinct aspects of *sophrosyne*. Their close co-ordination in passages such as this alerts us to a pattern in classical Athenian speech in which the two words are closely

⁶ On ὅσιος as «ritually pure» see Plato, *Euthyphro* 4c-7a and L. MOULINIER, *Le pur et l'impur*, Paris 1952, p. 285-294.

⁷ For its close link with δίκη and cognates see: Plato, *Euthyphro* 11e-12d; Antiphon II (*First Tetralogy*) β 2; III (*Second Tetralogy*) δ 10; IV (*Third Tetralogy*) δ 11; VI (*On the Choreutes*) 10; Xenophon, *Hell.* II 4.40; *Anabasis* II 6.25; and cf. Thucydides V 104. These passages do not so much contrast *dikaia* and *hosia* as indicate that the same act which would best be termed *dikaion* from one point of view might be termed *hosion* from another point of view.

⁸ Many texts imply an obligation to be *hosios* before participating in *ta hiera*: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 336; Antiphon V (*Herodes*) 82; Euripides, *Herakles Mainomenos* 927; Plato, *Laws* VII 799b; *SIG*³ 338.5 and 15; Pausanias VIII 10.3; Plutarch, *Moralia* 352a.

⁹ Plato, *Gorgias* 5071-f, trans. W.R.M. Lamb. See also the discussion in M. H. A. L. H. VAN DER VALK, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 141f. who notes a similar view in Polybius XXII 10.8; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* VII 66, and in a fragment ascribed to Aristotle (not in the collection by V. Rose) in a recent hand among the scholia on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 656.

linked, and indeed to the further possibility that the same action might be described as *dikaion* when viewed from a human perspective and *hosion* when the reactions of the gods are conjectured.

Thus among the writers of this society *hosios* may occur in close parallel to *dikaios*, but often with a hint of divine involvement or concern. When *hosios* is combined with *hiera*, it provides a way of referring to two types of activities of importance to human society but also of special interest to the gods — the ritual observances of sacrifice, offering and festival, and the social norms of justice, fair treatment etc. The pairing of *hiera* and *hosia*, then, is not a precise equivalent of our antithesis between sacred and secular, but expresses a way of looking at the relationship between the sacred and the profane that was especially prominent in Athens during the classical period. In contrast to Durkheim's expectation, that «the religious life and the profane life cannot coexist in the same place», a study of this collocation suggests another hypothesis — that in classical Athenian culture the sacred was seen as parallel to and co-ordinate with the other realm¹⁰. To test this hypothesis we must investigate the individual occurrences of phrases such as *hiera kai hosia* and go on to investigate the mentality behind this linguistic pattern. That necessitates an attempt to determine whether there are parallels in Athenian civic life that might strengthen the suspicion that in classical Athens *ta hiera*, the sacred, and its more worldly counterpart, *ta hosia*, were often seen as parallel and co-ordinate realms.

Let us begin by surveying in roughly chronological order the principal instances of the use of the phrase *hiera kai hosia* and its close relatives. In this way we can trace the origin and evolution of the expression but, more important, better understand its range and significance in classical Athens.

THE EXTENSION OF A METAPHOR

A collocation of *hiera* and *hosia* was frequently used in discussions of public finance; this may be the field in which it was first developed¹¹. Eventually, however, it came to be applied to many areas of Athenian life and served as an indicator of a distinctive set of attitudes and practices.

¹⁰ E. DURKHEIM, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 346f.

¹¹ Cf. H. SWOBODA, *Ueber griechische Schatzverwaltung*, *WS* 10 (1888), p. 278-307, esp. 289ff.

The distinction between public funds and those devoted to cult purposes is already present in Solon, fr. 4, elegiac lines on the threatened destruction of the city. Solon sees the cause of such disaster in the greediness of the leaders of the city who do not know how to restrain their appetites and who

spare neither sacred nor public wealth as they steal, one plundering from one source, another from another. Nor do they respect the awesome decrees of Dike, who in her silence knows the present and the past and who in due course comes to set the balance aright.

In this passage first food and then wealth are used to symbolize the breakdown of moral order. The portion most relevant to our investigation is line 12 ff: οὐθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ..., literally, «they steal, sparing neither things sacred nor things public...».

A distinction similar to that which we are investigating was thus already present in the early sixth century. But the crucial word *hosios* does not appear. A mid-fifth century inscription giving an accounting of the funds of the Attic deme Icaria (modern Dionysos) brings us one step closer to the later pattern; it provides the earliest extant example of the use of the word *hosios* in such a context¹². These accounts list both the sacred funds belonging to the local cult of Dionysus (ἀργυρίο ... τῷ ... Διονύσῳ) and the funds of the deme itself (ἀργυρίο ὁσίῳ). Although the first funds are never called «sacred», *hiera*, in the preserved portions of the document, the use of the word *hosios* to contrast civic funds from those of the god anticipates the financial terminology that eventually becomes common in Attica¹³. By the late fifth century the Athenians divided «the funds of the state into such as were sacred (*hiera*) and such as were secular (*hosia*): the Tamiae were to administer the one and the Hellenotamiae the other»¹⁴. This arrangement, perhaps foreshadowed

¹² IG I³ 253, lines 13 and 17.

¹³ When Pericles, for example, tabulates the resources available to Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War he implicitly distinguished between civic and sacred funds: Thucydides II 13.3. According to Thucydides Pericles first listed the φόρος both as annual income and as accumulated reserve; then, the gold and silver in dedications and certain kinds of ἱέρα σκεύη. Among the latter are the funds of the «other gods» and those of Athena. The terminology probably reflects the reorganization, most likely around 434/3, of the funds of the «other gods» into a single treasury. See W.S. FERGUSON, *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, p. 163 and P. RHODES' commentary on *Ath. Pol.* 30 (p. 391).

¹⁴ W.S. FERGUSON, *op cit.* (n. 13), p. 3. See also B. JORDAN, *Servants of the Gods* (*Hypomnemata*, 55), Göttingen 1979.

in the so-called «Constitution for the Future», reported in chapter 30 of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, was probably put into operation at the Panathenaic festival of 406/5¹⁵.

In the fourth century the distinction between funds that are *hiera* and those that are *hosia* becomes almost formulaic¹⁶. The use of this terminology, rather than the older contrast between *demosia* and *hiera*, is likely to reflect changing attitudes toward state control of cult funds. The older terminology may now have seemed to restrict the demos' role to the administration of funds that were strictly for public purposes. Those for cult functions would then implicitly be left in the hands of priestly families or cult associations. The phrase *hiera kai hosia* implicitly affirmed civic control over the financial affairs of all such funds¹⁷. As the government of Athens created its own cults and festivals and took a more active role in the regulation of older cults, the newer terminology would seem increasingly appropriate¹⁸.

The proper handling of the community's funds, sacral and secular, was obviously a matter of great practical concern for classical Athens. But it was also thought to be of major significance for the social and moral health of the society. Hence financial terminology is often used as a metaphor for the right ordering of the state as a whole. This, even more than a desire to prevent embezzlement and other forms of corruption, may account for the elaborate and permanent inscribing of public accounts and temple treasures so characteristic of the civic administration of classical Athens. It may also explain some of the special power that accusations of financial misconduct had when brought against politicians and their associates.

Greek poetry also reflects the metaphorical power of the idea of mishandling forbidden wealth. For example, the most famous expression

¹⁵ W.S. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 163 argued for 411 B.C. or earlier, but Wesley THOMPSON, *Notes on the Treasurers of Athena*, *Hesperia* 39 (1970), p. 61-63 makes a strong case for 406/5. See also P. RHODES' commentary on *Ath. Pol.* 30.2.

¹⁶ For example: Demosthenes XXIV (*Against Timocrates*), 9, 11, 82, 101, 111, 112, 120, 137; Plato, *Republic*, 344a; *Laws* IX, 857b; Hyperides, *Against Aristogeiton* fr. 153B cf. Harpocration s.v. ὁσίον.

¹⁷ On the role of priestly families J. TOEPPFER, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin 1888 is still valuable but see now R. S. GARLAND, *Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens*, *ABSA* 79 (1984), p. 75-123.

¹⁸ Note for example the establishment (or reorganization) of the cult of Athena Nike: *IG* I³ 35; F. JACOBY, *Genesia*, *CQ* 38 (1944), p. 65-75 (also published in Jacoby's *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. H. Bloch, Leiden 1956, p. 243-259).

of that metaphor — in the chorus of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos* — uses the image of «laying hands on the holy things untouchable» (889 ff. trans. R. Fagles) as a symbol of disorder in the state and the shattering of divine justice.

Ὑβρις φυτεύει τύραννον: Such violations become the mark of the tyrant, as Plato says in the *Republic*:

... this is tyranny, which both by stealth and by force takes away what belongs to others, both *hiera* and *hosia*, both private and public, not little by little but at one swoop¹⁹.

It is not surprising then to find one aspect of that metaphor — the pairing of the terms *hiera kai hosia* — extended beyond the financial realm to other aspects of civic life. If P. Siewert and others are right in seeing an Archaic origin for the Ephebic Oath, the use of the collocation to refer to all aspects of civic life may go back to a very early date²⁰. But in any event, it comes to have wide applicability in fourth century Athens. It is used, for example, in shaping the agenda for the meetings of the assembly²¹ as well as to denote two types of land and buildings — shrines and civic constructions such as law courts, fountain houses etc. Isocrates, for example, speaks of the *hiera* and *hosia* of the city, when he refers to the buildings, dedications and other amenities of the Periclean democracy which «so embellished the city both with *hiera* and with *hosia* that even now those who come to visit consider Athens worthy of rule ... over the Greeks»²².

In Thucydides' description of the great plague we can see another extension of this phraseology — from denoting physical constructions to symbolizing moral disintegration. After mentioning those who were dying on the roads or who plunged into fountains, he observes that «*ta*

¹⁹ Plato, *Republic* I 344a, trans. P. Shorey, modified. Cf. Gorgias 466c.

²⁰ P. SIEWERT, *The Ephebic Oath...*, *JHS* 97 (1977), p. 102-111.

²¹ Aeschines I (*Against Timarchus*) 23: «... the *proedroi* are to hold a preliminary vote concerning ancestral *hiera* and for heralds and embassies and concerning *hosia* ...» resembles the more complex pattern described in *Ath. Pol.* 43.6: «The other two meetings deal with other matters, amongst which the law prescribes the consideration of three motions about sacred matters, three concerning heralds and embassies, and three about secular matters» (trans. J. M. Moore). Cf. also Pollux VIII 96. See P. RHODES on *Ath. Pol.* 43.6 (p. 529) and his *Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, p. 37 n. 10 and p. 55-58.

²² Isocrates VII (*Areopagiticus*) 66. The emphasis on buildings and related dedications is confirmed by a comparison to Isocrates XV (*Antidosis*) 234. On buildings as a *kosmos* of the city compare the comments on the Pisistratids in Thucydides VI 54.5. Does it follow that sacred buildings were normally paid for from funds called *hiera* and public buildings from those called *hosia*?

hiera in which they camped were full of corpses» (II 52.3) and almost immediately remarks that overpowered by the disaster men «turned to contempt of *hiera* and *hosia* alike». Thucydides perhaps has the crowding into both public areas and into sacred *temene* uppermost in his mind, but the phraseology implies a wider dissolution of the society's mores and facilitates the transition to the discussion of *anomia* which follows.

In the Xenophontic treatise on public finance the blessings of tranquillity are extolled by an enumeration of all those who, if the author's recommendations are followed, will come to Athens. The list culminates in «those to whom anything sacred or secular (*hieron ē hosion*) appeals that is worth seeing or hearing» (Xenophon, *Poroi* 5.4, trans. E.C. Marchant). Here the familiar pair of terms applies not only to buildings and dedications but also to what can be seen or heard within the city, i.e. festivals, dramatic and musical contests, and the rites that are open to outsiders. By the late fourth century this wide range is reflected in the training undertaken by young citizens, the ephebes. In their oath, as we have seen, they committed themselves to defend *ta hiera* and *ta hosia*²³. This obligation was then given physical expression by processions to cult places, service near the boundaries of Attica and the maneuvers and journeys that eventually became a standard part of ephebic training²⁴. *Hiera kai hosia*, in other words, come to be practically synonymous with «the fatherland» as Lycurgus' allusion to the oath in his speech *Against Leocrates* (77 f.) reminds us.

It is then but a small step to using the phrase to denote the obligations and privileges of the citizen. According to Demosthenes' speech *Against Aristocrates* Draco's law code barred a person guilty of homicide from «everything in which the deceased used to participate in his life time: first from his own country and from all things therein, both *hosia* and *hiera*» (xxiii 40, trans. J.H. Vince, modified). Since Demosthenes may be paraphrasing rather than quoting in this passage, his words should not

²³ The epigraphical version of the oath is known from the Acharnae stele, conveniently available in M.N. TOD, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, Oxford, 1948, no. 204, p. 303 ff. For an improved text see R. MERKELBACH, *Aglauros*, *ZPE* 9 (1972), p. 277-283. The oath is also known from Pollux VIII 105f and Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 43.48. Lycurgus' speech *Against Leocrates* 77 f alludes to the oath and specifically to this clause.

²⁴ *IG* II/III² 1006-1011, cf. *Ath. Pol.* 42.3. On ephebic organization see most recently J. WINKLER, *The Ephebes' Song, Representations* 11 (Summer, 1985), p. 26-62.

be used as proof that these terms stood in Draco's law code²⁵. But by his own day the collocation had become a way to refer to participation in the society and hence to citizenship itself. Indeed a late fifth century law on inheritance is very likely to have used the phrase in this sense, to judge from two citations in the orators: one is a paraphrase of the law in Isaeus' speech on the *Estate of Philoctemon*²⁶. The second comes from the speech *Against Macratatus* in the Demosthenic corpus which purports to quote the actual text of the law of inheritance, at the end of which comes the allusion to *hiera kai hosia*:

νόθῳ δὲ μηδὲ νόθῃ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεῖαν μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὀσίων, ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος.

But no illegitimate child of either sex shall have the right of succession either to religious rites or civic privileges, from the time of the archonship of Eucleides²⁷.

This is not the place to discuss the complicated questions concerning this law and the wider issues of Athenian citizenship that are linked to it²⁸. The passage makes clear, however, that the phraseology μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὀσίων was commonly used in Athens of the fourth century to express two sides of participation in the family and ultimately in the society as a whole. Thus although the law dealt primarily with inheritance questions, the principles it embodied — and even its phraseology — could readily be extended to citizenship issues, as Wyse long ago observed²⁹. The

²⁵ The words do not stand on the partial re-inscribing of his code in *IG I³ 104*: R. STROUD, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Classical Studies, 3), Berkeley 1968. There is no good evidence that the combination *hiera kai hosia* was used in Athens before the classical period. Plutarch, *Theseus* 25 says that the Eupatrids of early Athens had the prerogative of being archons and καὶ ὀσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς. This passage is often thought to reflect classical Athenian political theorizing: see L. GERNET, *RPh* Ser. 3, 12 (1938), p. 226, but note now T. J. FIGUEIRA, *The Ten Archontes of 579/8*, *Hesperia* 53 (1984), p. 447-473.

²⁶ «...according to the law no νόθος or νόθῃ has any right, based on kinship, to participate in the cults or property of a family (μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὀσίων) since the archonship of Eucleides»; Isaeus VI (*Estate of Philoctemon*) 47, trans. E. S. Forster, modified. Among the discussions of the passage see S. HUMPHREYS, *The Nothoi of Kynosarges*, *JHS* 94 (1974), esp. p. 89 n. 5 and W. THOMPSON, *An Interpretation of the Demotionid Decree*, *SO* 42 (1968), p. 67. On the law ascribed to Solon in Aristophanes, *Birds* 1660-1666, see W. WYSE, *The Speeches of Isaeus*, Cambridge 1904, on Isaeus VI 47 and W. Thompson's comments in the article cited above.

²⁷ Demosthenes XLIII (*Against Macartatus*) 51, trans. A. T. Murray.

²⁸ Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 1660-1666. On the problems raised by these passages see the discussions mentioned in note 26 above.

²⁹ W. WYSE, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 535: «The combination ... sacra profanaque, is comprehensive enough to embrace all the rights of a citizen».

association with citizenship is also clear in the law which accorded Athenian citizenship to the Plataeans. This decree, as quoted in the Demosthenic speech *Against Neaera*, permitted the Plataeans «to participate in all matters in which the Athenians participate, both *hiera* and *hosia*, except for any priesthood or rite that passes down in a family ...»³⁰.

This survey indicates the gradual extension of this collocation from the strictly financial realm to many aspects of civic life and order. Behind this process is a deeper one that extends the range of the word *hosios* beyond the realm of ritual purity and the obligations human beings owe to the gods to questions of relations among human beings. Traces of this process can be seen in a specialization of vocabulary. In Greek, words such as *hagnos* that are cognate with the Indo-European words for «sacred» are applied to ritual purity, while *hosios*, a word of uncertain etymology and origin, comes, at least in the circle best documented for us, to denote divinely approved rightness in human affairs, above all justice³¹.

This usage is not confined to Athens, although this city, in which the currents of religious and intellectual change were especially strong, is likely to have provided a very favorable setting for the developments we are investigating. It will be profitable, then, to look more widely at our information concerning Athens and to see if there are Athenian civic institutions or practices that reflect a similar antinomy between the sacred and divinely sanctioned human activities such as justice. This investigation expands our inquiry from terminology to the practices of social and civic life in an effort to determine if there is an underlying structure that corresponds to the linguistic pattern we have just examined.

³⁰ [Demosthenes] LIX 104. The decree goes on to specify that the Plataeans are not eligible for any of the nine archonships. Compare Antiphon V (*Against Herodes*) 62 in which it is stated that the discovery of the crime would have deprived the speaker of his country and Lycinus «of *hiera* and *hosia* and of all that men hold most valuable and precious». Plato's *Laws* use similar language in discussing the procedure to be followed when one of the 5040 lots in his ideal city falls vacant. The kin are then to adopt a child from a family pre-eminent for goodness and pray that he may be «a begetter of children for them and a hearth-man and a minister of both *hosia* and *hiera*» (*Laws* IX 878a). G. R. MORROW, *Plato's Cretan City*, Princeton 1960, p. 462 explicates the final phrase as «the minister to the gods of his *genos* and the city and the dead members as well as the living».

³¹ *Hosios*, to be sure, retains the sense of ritually right in many contexts. The Delphian sacred officials who accompany the Pythia, for example, were called the *Hosioi*. See G. ROUX, *Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux*, Paris 1976, p. 62 f.

A PATTERN IN ATHENIAN CIVIC LIFE

When we turn to Athenian civic practices a similar pattern emerges. Indeed almost all civic activities which we might term «secular» or «profane» are carefully linked to a sacred realm, especially by entrance and exit rites — the assembly begins with religious ritual, wars involve special sacrifices and offerings, places primarily devoted to civic business often also have some sacral identity³². These features are shared by Athens and many other Greek cities. But in Athens there are also other practices that give a distinctive form to the relationship between the sacred and the ostensibly secular. Perhaps the most significant of these is the ceremony by which the archons of the city entered into office:

... the candidates go to the stone [sc. in front of the Royal Stoa] on which are parts of the sacrificial victim, and standing on it they swear to administer their office justly and in accordance with the laws, and not to take bribes in connection with their office, and if they do so to dedicate a golden statue ... After taking their oath, the candidates go to the Acropolis and repeat the same oath there; after that they take up their office³³.

Whatever the origins of the ceremony, its message is, at least in part, quite clear³⁴. The double ceremony reinforces the oath, emphasizes that both a divine and a civic sanction stand behind it, and links the center of civic justice to the sacred citadel, providing thereby one of «the ceremonial forms» by which rulers «take symbolic possession of their realm»³⁵.

³² See J. MIKALSON, *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill 1983, p. 120 n. 1.

³³ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 55.5 (trans. J. M. Moore). Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 7.1; Plutarch, *Solon* 25.2; Pollux VIII 86; Harpocration s.v. λιθοϛ. Plato, *Phaedrus* 235d-e. On the stone see T. L. SHEAR, *Hesperia* 40 (1971), p. 259f. P. KAVVADIAS, *ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ*, Αρχ. Εφ. 3 (1897), p. 21-23, argued that the archons took their oath at the Long Rocks on the north slope of the Acropolis, but the evidence consists of dedications by archons of the Roman period.

³⁴ Despite *Ath. Pol.* 7.1 and Plutarch, *Solon* 25.2, this pattern of double oaths is not likely to be older than the emergence of the Agora as a center of municipal administration and may not be earlier than the construction of the Royal Stoa, dated by the excavator to around 500 B.C. (T. L. SHEAR, *art cit.* (n. 33), p. 243-260), and closer to 460 B.C. by H. A. THOMPSON, in *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (*Vanderpool Studies*), Princeton 1982, p. 136 n. 11. If the construction of the Stoa could be associated with Ephialtes' bringing down of the laws from the Acropolis (Anaximenes, *FGrHist* 72 F 13: see appendix), then a new oath swearing ceremony in front of the Stoa would be very appropriate.

³⁵ C. GEERTZ, *Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power*, in *Culture and Its Creators (Essays in Honor of E. Shils)*, Chicago 1977, p. 153.

The route by which the archons travel from agora to Acropolis must have approximated that of the Panathenaic procession, a festival in which the archons have a prominent part and which marks the unity of Attica and the cohesion of its citizens and dependents³⁶. At the same time, the double oath ceremony contains the implicit promise that two aspects of the state will be properly tended during the coming year.

This double aspect of the archonship is also reflected in the duties of Athens' principal state officials. Like the ceremony their office unites *ta hiera* and *ta hosia*. The archon eponymous, for example, has important judicial duties, especially in cases relating to the family. His duties are essential for the city's concern with *ta hosia*, of which justice is so much a part. Yet he also appoints *choregoi* for the choral performances at festivals, and «organizes processions: the one celebrated in honor of Asclepius when the initiated keep watch in the temple, and the one at the great Dionysia ... He (the Archon) also arranges the processions of the Thargelia and the one in honor of Zeus the Savior. He also presides over the contests at the Dionysia and the Thargelia»³⁷.

The archon basileus and the polemarch have a similar combination of duties — the administration of justice and the conduct of sacrifices, processions and festivals. Their responsibilities, in other words, include both *hiera* and *hosia*. The six thesmothetae, on the other hand, lack clearly sacral duties, although their title retains the element *thesmo*-reflecting law in its divinely sanctioned aspect³⁸.

The descriptions of the duties of the three major annual archons of the Athenians as presented in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (55-59)

³⁶ On the Panathenaea and its route see especially H. A. THOMPSON, *The Panathenaic Festival*, *AA* 76 (1961), p. 224-231.

³⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 56.4 trans. K von Fritz and E. Kapp. It is an oversimplification to treat the basileus as «concerned primarily with religious matters» and the archon eponymous as in effect the «head of state». The phrases are those of J. M. MOORE in his useful commentary on the *Athenaion Politeia*, Berkely 1975, p. 293 and 295. The basileus tends to all ancestral sacrifices (*Ath. Pol.* 57.1) but many other sacred matters are handled by other state officials. The basileus, moreover, has major judicial responsibilities, esp. but not exclusively in relation to the Areopagus court.

³⁸ There is also a remarkable antithesis between the thesmothetae, males charged with administering the laws, and the Thesmophoria, a festival in which women leave their husbands and symbolically secede from the city. At the related ceremony of the Stenia women indulge in slander and obscenity; the thesmothetae deal with at least some cases of slander (*Ath. Pol.* 59.5); the Thesmophoria festival is associated with agricultural fertility; the thesmothetae have no responsibility for cases involving land holdings but deal with the complementary issues of cases involving trade or the mines.

show a combination of concern for both *ta hiera* and *ta hosia*, a combination that recurs frequently in Athenian civic life and warns against anachronistic dichotomies that characterize the basileus as the «chief of the religious cult» and the archon eponymous as the «political head of the community»³⁹. Although the duties are not labelled in our sources as *hiera* and *hosia*, we can readily recognize the double aspect of their duties and of the oath-taking ceremonies upon their entrance into office.

The progression of the archons from the great stone before the Stoa of Zeus to the Acropolis calls attention to an important differentiation of space in the classical city of Athens. During the fifth century the Agora came to be the center of municipal affairs and particularly of the administration of justice. Even the Areopagus court met from time to time in the Agora⁴⁰. Thus, in addition to its role as a commercial and civic center, and as a place for parades and festivities, the Agora was the center of the civic concern with matters that might be called *ta hosia*. The sacral center of the city, of course, remained the Acropolis.

The Agora, however, was not a truly «secular» area, as various hints and indications show. A major portion of it was, for example, marked off by boundary stones, in a way reminiscent of sacred *temene*. The presence of basins holding water for ritual purification, *perirrhanteria*, is a further indication of its quasi-sacral character⁴¹. Religious sanctions and regulations governed its use. Important shrines, including the Altar to the Twelve Gods, were located within its boundaries. However sharply set off from the Acropolis it may have been, it possessed a sanctity of its own, closely linked, we may conjecture, to its centrality in ensuring justice and order in civic relationships.

³⁹ The terms are P. OLIVA's in his valuable discussion of early Greek kingship ΠΑΤΡΙΚΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, in *Geras (Studies in honor of George Thomson)*, ed. L. Varcé, Prague 1963, p. 179.

⁴⁰ The Areopagus court sometimes met in the Agora, [Demosthenes] XXV (*Against Aristogeiton*) 23, but perhaps not for murder cases. Cf. G. BUSOLT-H. SWOBODA, *Griechische Staatskunde II (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft IV 1.1)*, München 1926, p. 795.

⁴¹ On the *horoi* see J. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, p. 300. On the *perirrhanteria*: Aeschines I (*Against Timarchus*) 21 and III (*Against Ctesiphon*) 176 and scholia *ad loc*; Lucian, *Sacr.* 2f., and *Pseud.* 23; Pollux I 8. See also R. E. WYCHERLEY, *Agora III*, Princeton 1957, p. 118; G. E. M. DE STE CROIX, *Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, London 1972, Appendix 43 and R. PARKER, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983, p. 19 and the studies cited in his work. See also Plato. *Laws VI* 778d.

Athenian civic ritual often linked the two areas, especially by processions such as that in the Panathenaic festival⁴². To us these processions may seem a way of binding together two realms that are antithetical or likely to drift into opposition. To label these realms «sacred» and «secular» may be an indispensable convenience for modern scholars, but the ancient terminology which we have been investigating sheds a different light upon the distinction, for it reflects the sense that the sacral aspects of civic life were closely linked to other aspects of civic life, especially to the proper administration of justice.

If there are two aspects to civic space in Athens, there are also two ways of structuring time⁴³. One is through the lunar, festival calendar — a calendar of twelve months whose names often reflect ancient festivals — Scirophorion, Hecatombaion, Metageitnion etc. This was an old, familiar calendar, still used in the fifth century for many forms of time reckoning and business⁴⁴. But fifth century Athens also used a calendar that divided the year into ten prytanies, each presided over by one of the Clisthenic tribes. The calendar was used for most public business, including the meetings of the assembly and the administration

⁴² Cf. N. LORAUX, *L'autochthonie: une topique athénienne*, *Annales (ESC)* 34,1 (1979), p. 3-26 and *L'invention d'Athènes*, Paris 1981, p. 284-2987; see also J. P. Vernant, *Origins of Greek Thought*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1982, p. 126. Loraux emphasizes the contrast between the Ceramicus and the Acropolis, which she links to two different representations of Athenian autochthony, one the stories of Erechtheus and Erichthonius, so strongly localized on the Acropolis, the other the theme of autochthony in the Athenian *epitaphioi logoi*, held in the Ceramicus. It is remarkable that among these speeches the naming of individual gods and heroes, and of the exploits of individual warriors, is avoided as if by a taboo; cf. p. 17 of Loraux' article. In Loraux' schema the Agora mediates between Acropolis and Ceramicus. It is easy, however, to oversystematize. The Ceramicus and the Agora, in particular, are not always so sharply differentiated as Loraux might suggest. See R. E. WYCHERLEY, *Agora III*, Princeton 1957, p. 221-224 and H. A. THOMPSON, and R. E. WYCHERLY, *Agora XIV*, Princeton 1972, p. 118, and J. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary* (cit. n. 41), p. 300. Note that Pausanias I 3.1-3 et alibi regularly refers to the Agora as the Ceramicus.

⁴³ Note, however, that «according to the Pritchett-Neugebauer hypothesis there were three separate calendars in operation at Athens. 1. There was a lunar regulatory calendar controlled by operation of the moon; 2. there was a festival calendar or archon's calendar which used the same month-names as the lunar regulatory calendar, but was subject to radical tampering by the archons and was often seriously out of phase with the moon; 3. the prytany or conciliar calendar...» A. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, I 7)*, München 1972, p. 57. Popular usage, of course, did not sharply distinguish the first two of these calendars, since the same month names were used.

⁴⁴ Cf. Strepsiades' calculation of the data on which his debts come due in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 17.

of justice. The existence of two such calendars is unusual in the Greek world and demands special attention.

Co-ordinating these two systems was the responsibility of the archon, who must from time to time have found the task quite difficult. The prytany sequence could easily be adjusted to the solar year of approximately 365 days, but the festival calendar and its claims meant that assembly meetings and other matters that we might call «secular» had to be fitted in around fixed «religious» events, such as the major civic festivals⁴⁵. Again our terminology is arbitrary and perhaps misleading: the prytanies of the conciliar calendar derive their names from local tribal heroes who served as eponyms for the ten Cleisthenic tribes and who in turn were venerated by these tribes. These hero names reflect an underlying linkage between civic and divine order. Again the familiar pattern appears: two systems of representing the year differentiate two types of activities, similar to those we have seen labelled *hiera* and *hosia*, but at the same time integrate them in a common progression of time.

The calendar of the state naturally brings to mind the activities of Nicomachus, who, at the end of the fifth century B.C., was one of the officials who began to systematize and inscribe some of the city's most fundamental *nomoi*. A Lysianic speech attacking his conduct of office describes his work as follows:

Appointed to transcribe our code of duties secular and sacred (*ton hosion kai ton hieron*), he has offended against both. Remember that ere now you have put many of the citizens to death for peculation: yet the injury that they had done you was only for the passing moment, whereas these men, by taking bribes for the version that they made of the laws, damage the city for all time⁴⁶.

The first phase of his work from roughly 410/9-404/3, was, it appears, primarily devoted to the publication of the Solonian law code and its revisions; from roughly 403 to 399 he was mainly concerned with sacrificial law and calendar⁴⁷. The latter closely corresponds to *ta hiera* in the collocation we have been studying; the former to *ta hosia*.

⁴⁵ On the scheduling of the Athenian assembly see J. D. MIKALSON, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year*, Princeton 1975. I am indebted to Prof. Mikalson for discussing with me the relationship between the two time-keeping systems.

⁴⁶ Lysias XXX (*Against Nicomachus*) 25, trans. W.R.M. Lamb.

⁴⁷ The fundamental work on Nicomachus' activities are the essays by Sterling Dow in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 71 (1953-1957), p. 3-36; *Historia* 9 (1960), p. 270-293 and *Hesperia* 30 (1961), p. 58-73. Important recent contributions have been made by Kevin CLINTON in *A Law in the City Eleusinion*, *Hesperia* 49 (1980), p. 274

Numerous other aspects of Athenian life reflect a similar conjunction, including the assessment of the personal conduct of citizens. The phraseology *hiera kai hosia* need not be present to recognize the underlying structure. At the examination to determine the qualifications of candidates for the archonship, for example, once the identity of the individual had been established by questioning him about his parents, grandparents and their places of residence, he was asked if he had an Apollo Patroios and Zeus Herkeios, and where these *hiera* were. He was then questioned about taxes and military service⁴⁸. The pattern behind this *dokimasia* is the now familiar parallelism between «sacred» and «secular» with the presumption that the good citizen is someone who tends to both these aspects of his conduct.

The man who does so might expect, under traditional Greek expectations, to escape major disaster. This seems to be the attitude Nicias expresses when he looks back upon his soon-to-be ended life and says «my life has been one of much devotion to the gods and of much justice and without offence towards men» (Thucydides vii 77.2); the structure with which we have become so familiar can again be detected.

The analogy to the indictment of Socrates is apparent: The charge against him is a double one — he fails to venerate the gods the city venerates and he corrupts the youth. His double offence corresponds to the two realms we have seen so frequently in various forms and with various labels in Athenian civic life.

The two aspects of civic life that we originally detected in the collocation *hiera kai hosia*, then, are evident in many parts of the city's activities. The speech pattern is an indicator of a much deeper and more recurrent way of looking at the polis. Respect for both aspects is the mark of a good citizen; violation of either or both is repugnant and in an extreme case might call forth the ultimate penalty.

The linguistic pattern investigated in the first section of this paper then would appear to be an expression of a deeper structure whose effects can be seen in many facets of Athenian civic life. Even at the mythological level there is a correlative. According to Apollodorus (3.15.1) the two sons of Pandion divided their inheritance between them,

and *The Nature of the Late Fifth Century Revision of the Athenian Law Code*, in *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (*Vanderpool Studies*), Princeton 1982, p.27-37. Clinton also supplies a useful bibliography of earlier studies of Nicomachus and his law code.

⁴⁸ See the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* 55.3.

Erechtheus taking the *basileia* and Boutes the *hierosyne*. The myth, as J. P. Vernant has noted, points to a structure of great significance in Athenian society⁴⁹. Like the linguistic collocation of *hiera kai hosia* studied in the first portion of the paper the myth concerns two separate but co-ordinated realms. In the myth an underlying unity is expressed in genealogical terms, while the linguistic pattern brings the two aspects together in a single phrase. In civic life the two realms are co-ordinated through the activities of individual state officials and by religious rites and processions. Myth, language and civic practice all reflect a common mentality that sees the sacred and the secular as two realms whose co-ordination is extremely important to civic well-being.

THE MENTALITY BEHIND THE STRUCTURE

Both the linguistic and institutional examples that we have examined reflect a structure in which the obligations of justice and fair-play were closely co-ordinated with rituals and ceremonies in honor of the gods. Behind this structure lie attitudes and patterns of belief that reach back into early Greek civilization and find repeated expression among the Greeks both in Athens and elsewhere. Greek literary and philosophical texts often give eloquent expression to this mentality, especially when they touch the question of divine concern for justice.

One of the earliest and most important of these texts is Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Although its final section is largely concerned with ritual demands, taboos etc., the central theme of the work is Justice — its importance, the difficulty of attaining it, its effects:

But when men issue straight decisions
to their own people
and to strangers, and do not step at all
off the road of rightness,
their city flourishes, and the people
blossom inside it.
Peace, who brings boys to manhood, is in their land,
nor does Zeus
of the wide brows ever ordain that hard war
shall be with them.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 255-269, trans. Richmond Lattimore⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ J. P. VERNANT, *Origins* (cit. n. 42), p. 43. The distinction is obscured rather than illuminated by the speculations of H. JEANMAIRE, *La naissance d'Athéna et la royauté magique de Zeus*, *RA* 48 (1956), p. 12-40.

⁵⁰ Note the parallels cited in K. J. DOVER, *Greek Popular Morality*, Oxford 1974, p. 255.

Indeed Zeus, in Hesiod's view, is the righteous king, who wills and eventually brings about justice.

The view which Hesiod so powerfully expresses is also to be found, although less prominently, in the *Iliad*:

As underneath the hurricane all the black earth is burdened
on an autumn day, when Zeus sends down the most violent waters
in deep rage against mortals after they stir him to anger
because in violent assembly they pass decrees that are crooked,
and drive righteousness from among them and care nothing for what
the gods think ...⁵¹.

In the *Odyssey* Eumaios speaks in a similar vein:

The gods
living in bliss are fond of no wrongdoing,
but honor discipline and right behavior.
Even the outcasts of the earth, who bring
piracy from the sea, and bear off plunder
given by Zeus in shiploads — even those men
deep in their hearts tremble for heaven's eye.
Odyssey XIV 86, trans. R. Fitzgerald.

Thus if Hesiod's voice may sometimes seem that of one crying in the wilderness, his insistence on the connection between Dike and divine favor is not unique. His view eventually prevails within the culture, if we can judge from its major literary texts⁵². There are signs, moreover, its prominence was not restricted to a narrow elite. For example in the first speech in the Demosthenic corpus against Aristogeiton a jury is told:

You must exalt Eunomia who loves what is just and preserves every city and every land; and before you cast your votes, each juryman must reflect that he is being watched by hallowed and inexorable Justice, who, as Orpheus, that prophet of our most sacred mysteries, tells us, sits beside the throne of Zeus and oversees all the works of men⁵³.

⁵¹ *Iliad* XVI 384 ff., trans. R. Lattimore. The passage is sometimes thought an interpolation.

⁵² It is not quite correct, I believe, to say, as K. J. DOVER, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 247f, does: «The Greek gods' interest in different fields of behaviour was unequal. We find that from the first they were believed to command good treatment of guests, suppliants, heralds, and the dead ... During the classical period divine interest in human activities tended to greater comprehensiveness». Cf. J. MIKALSON, *Athenian Popular Religion* (cit. n. 32), passim. The gods' wide concern for justice is evident even in our earliest texts; eventually this strand of thinking about them becomes dominant within the major documents of the culture.

⁵³ [Demosthenes] XXV (*Against Aristogeiton* I) 11, trans. J. H. Vince, modified. The passage makes Orpheus sound very much like Hesiod in *Works and Days* 256 ff. but this

The story of the Greek insistence on Justice has often been told and need not be rehearsed here⁵⁴. Several aspects of it, however, deserve further attention. Many of the texts in which this theme is present indicate a tension between human justice and the demands of ritual purity. Demosthenes xxii (*Against Androtion*) 78, for example, insists that

the man who is to enter the sacred places, to lay hands on the vessels of lustration and the sacrificial baskets, and to take charge of divine worship ought not to be pure for a prescribed number of days only; his whole way of life should have been kept pure ...⁵⁵.

The view is similar to that expressed in Plato, especially in the *Laws*, in which Plato argues that sacrifice and other ritual acts cannot win the gods' support for an unjust man (x 885 b-887 b) but that the state should nonetheless be continually sacrificing (viii 828 a-b). In Plato's view for the good man sacrifice and prayer and offerings are noble and conducive to a happy life, but for wrongdoers they have just the opposite effect (iv 716 d).

The exaltment of justice is an especially important strand in Greek thought, especially since it proved of such importance in the development of Greco-Roman philosophy and ethics. But we should not forget that it was only one strand in a much more complex fabric. Intertwined with it is a competing view that emphasizes the importance of ritual purity. The varied expressions of this view stress the observance of taboo, such as those listed at the end of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the necessity of precise ritual observance, or the power of ritual purifications even in cases of murder or other terrible crimes.

These two strands of early Greek thought must often have been in tension. Gradually, at least in the places that are best attested to us, the priority of the claims of justice came increasingly to be emphasized. Ritual observance was thought not to secure the gods' favor unless justice was also observed. In some quarters an even more radical

does not prove that the speaker was mistaken in asserting that the image was found in Orphic texts. The personification is common but not therefore to be dismissed as insignificant. Note Euripides fr. 255, Polybius XXIII 10.3; cf. K. S. DOVER, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 257.

⁵⁴ Among recent discussions see especially W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, p. 246-250.

⁵⁵ Translated by J. H. Vince, modified. Cf. W. BURKERT, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 77.

approach is suggested: ritual purity, *hagneia*, is redefined as personal integrity, as in the famous inscription in the sanctuary of Epidaurus:

He who goes inside the sweet smelling temple must be pure (*hagnos*).
Purity (*hagneia*) is to have an honest mind (*ta hosia phronein*)⁵⁶.

This tension can also be detected in fifth century Athens; indeed it has a prominent place in several of the greatest tragic dramas. In both Euripides' *Herakles Mainomenos* and Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* the central figure is a person who under traditional values should be thought ritually and morally impure and should be avoided in every way possible⁵⁷. Heracles, driven mad by wrathful divinities, has killed his own children and knows that no one outside his immediate family should even see him (lines 1156-1162). Similarly Oedipus' incest and parricide naturally provoke the revulsion and horror of the chorus:

You — out of this place of rest, away, faster!
Off and gone from the land — before you fix
some greater penalty on our city.
Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 234-236, trans. R. Fagles.

Yet in each case the polluted figure meets the embodiment of Athenian qualities, Theseus, and is graciously received by him, despite the ostensible violation of religious taboo. Perhaps the most eloquent expression of the underlying tension comes in Euripides' play during the exchange between Theseus and Heracles when the Athenian hero draws Heracles' robe from his head:

H: How could you then uncloak me to the sun?
Th: No mortal man can stain what is divine (*ta ton theon*).
H: Away, rash friend! Flee my foul pollution.
Th: Where there is love contagion cannot come.
Οὐδείς ἀλάστωρ τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τῶν φίλων⁵⁸.

In both these dramas revulsion is superseded by a more humane and compassionate response. That response, in turn, is embodied in Theseus, a representation of how Athens understands itself. In the *Oedipus at*

⁵⁶ The translation is from the discussion by R. PARKER, *op. cit.* (n.41), p.322. The evidence (Porphyry, *De abstinentia* II 19 and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* IV 22.142 [p.311 Staehlin] and V 1.13 [p.334 Staehlin]) probably derives ultimately from Theophrastus. See also E. and L. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius* II, Baltimore 1945, p.126 n.6. There are parallels to the sentiment in Epicharmus, *VS* 23 B 26 and pseudo-Phocylides line 228, Bergk *PLG*² 375.

⁵⁷ R. PARKER, *op. cit.* (n.41), p.316-322.

⁵⁸ Euripides, *Herakles Mainomenos* 1231-1234, trans. W. Arrowsmith.

Colonus, moreover, the Hesiodic promise is restated. The acceptance of the blind hero assures Athens of his continuing support and strength (1518 — 1538). Elsewhere Oedipus' lines even use the image, which we have already seen in Hesiod, of a personified Justice seated next to Zeus. He tells Polynices

my curses have you in their power now,
if that Justice, declared from the first of time,
still shares the throne of Zeus with everlasting laws.

(1380-1382, trans. R. Fagles).

Sophocles' drama, in other words, reflects a tension between a deeply rooted horror at murder and the pollution that derives from it and a wider conception of justice and mercy. The latter, in his view, is not a naive generosity, for it carries with it a source of power and strength for the community.

These works clarify the underlying mentality behind the texts and practices we have examined. They are important for our understanding of classical Athens, even though it would be naive to think that the passages we have seen describe conventional moral practice within that city. Self-interest, the drives for status, wealth and domination were, as is well known, extremely powerful. Yet the mentality that finds expression in the texts just examined points to a major concern and to some distinctive patterns of action. Classical Athenian society was clearly much concerned to bring religious observance into close relationship with civic justice. In this way of thinking sacred rites, *ta hiera*, are not taboos or ways of magically assuring divine support. Nor are they an end unto themselves. For them to be effective, or perhaps even meaningful, they needed to be co-ordinated with what the society defined as just behavior. The effect on personal and civic morality may have been very limited, but there is reason to believe that the mentality we have studied had significant consequences for the ancient Athenian conception of the state.

THE CONCEPT OF THE STATE

In discussing his intellectual and scholarly development Edward Shils once wrote that for a long time he

accepted the conventional distinction between the holy and the profane, the sacred and the secular; this involved acceptance of the proposition that they were utterly disjunctive with respect to each

other... The postulate of much of the literature (in sociology) was that the state was properly confined to the secular sphere⁵⁹.

A similar set of postulates has surely operated in the study of ancient Greek society, especially in works that de-emphasize the significance of religious matters or see them simply as devices for the manipulation of public opinion, or convenient pretexts for the carrying out of pre-determined policies. The treatment of civic rituals provides a strong indicator of these postulates, for this approach often presents them «as 'mere' rituals, a form of flummery»⁶⁰.

Just as Shils found these postulates confining and misleading in the study of contemporary society, classicists and ancient historians are coming to recognize their inadequacy in the study of antiquity. Their effects are especially pernicious on the study of the transition between the «Archaic» and the «Classical» form of the polis. The metaphor of secularization is readily adopted and with it fragments of modernization theory — the presumption that there are «two types of society — archaic (sacred) and modern (technological and profane) — existentially represented by two different types of individual, religious and secular»⁶¹. The transition from Archaic to Classical can then be treated as a movement from a world dominated by images and structures of authority derived from the sacred realm to a new «enlightened» secularism. And with that movement we expect to see the emergence of a new rational individuality and the disintegration of old forms of tribal-based identity. The Classical Age is then in our expectation inevitably a time of growing secularism.

This view corresponds to what Mary Douglas has noted as a widespread contemporary belief

that primitive peoples are and always have been religious ... It seems to be an important premise of popular thinking about us, the civilized, and them, the primitives, that we are secular, sceptical and frankly

⁵⁹ Introduction to E. SHILS, *Centers and Periphery*, Chicago 1975, p. xxxiii.

⁶⁰ The quotation is from a criticism of this approach by Simon PRICE, *Rituals and Power*, Cambridge 1984, p. 241. Price notes his debt to Clifford Geertz's essay *Religion as a Cultural System*, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York 1973, p. 87-125. See also M. I. Finley's criticism of Nilsson and others in *Politics in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1983, p. 95.

⁶¹ H. KUPER, *The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space*, *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972), p. 415, discussing the views of M. Eliade. A useful survey of modernization theory is D.C. TIPPS, *Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies*, *Comparative Studies Soc. History* 15 (1973), p. 199-226.

tending more and more away from religious belief and that they are religious⁶².

But is it in fact true that even in Sophocles' day one could hear the «melancholy, long, withdrawing roar» of some earlier high tide in a sea of faith? To test these modernist presumptions one naturally turns to Clisthenes' reforms for confirmation. They come close to the divide between the «Archaic» and the «Classical», and in the influential view of H. T. Wade-Gery, between the archaic «Religious State» and the new classical «Secular State»:

Kleisthenes left the system of the Phratryies untouched, but juxtaposed the system of the Demes. In the same way he left the lunar year, of twelve or sometimes thirteen lunations ... untouched, but juxtaposed the solar year ... made up of ten Prytanies of thirty-six or thirty-seven days. The lunar year is the year ... of the religious Calendar of Feasts: it belongs to the archaic Religious State, and accordingly the Archons and the Tamiai (Treasurers of Athena) hold office by the Lunar year. The solar year belongs to the modern Secular State: the Lower Boule holds office and the Ekklesia assembles by the solar year (i.e. by Prytanies). ... Kleisthenes created the Strategoi c. 500 B.C. as a Secular Executive destined to replace the Archons... The three juxtapositions — Demes beside Phratryies, Solar Year beside Lunar, Strategoi beside Archons — reveal his method: to make the religious structure politically insignificant, by creating alongside it a secular structure⁶³.

Wade-Gery's view has been severely criticized⁶⁴. Few scholars today would subscribe to all the propositions in this passage or express themselves with the same unhesitating directness. But the underlying categories — Archaic/Religious and Classical/Secular — continue to exert their influence⁶⁵. The polis of the fifth century is seen as an increasingly secular state, in which cult, festival, and other forms of religious expression are superficial or marginal. Sir Moses Finley was perhaps the most eloquent advocate of this approach:

⁶² M. DOUGLAS, *Heathen Darkness*, in *Implicit Meanings*, London 1975, p. 73.

⁶³ H. T. WADE-GERY, *Studies in the Structure of Attic Society*, *CQ* 27 (1933), p. 17-29, esp. 26 ff., also printed in *Essays in Greek History*, Oxford 1958.

⁶⁴ See for example, F. JACOBY, *Atthis*, Oxford 1949, p. 258f: «In the circumstances we had best altogether avoid the expression 'secular state' in regard to antiquity. No ancient state (and in particular not Athens) was secular in the sense in which we use the term. [Jacoby then suggests the term «modern state»]. But even this modern state never thought of contrasting an autonomous domain of religion with the domain of the state».

⁶⁵ Cf., for example Frank FROST, *AJAH* 1 (1976), p. 69. J. H. OLIVER, *The Athenian Expounders*, Baltimore 1950, p. 47 n. 25.

... government had become generally secularized in reality though not in appearance. The oath was reduced to a mere ceremony ... The threat that perjury would bring down the wrath of the gods was no longer of itself persuasive. Many Greek communities selected their officials by lot as a matter of routine without any suggestion that the choice was thereby transferred to the gods...⁶⁶.

The material investigated in this paper, however, raises another possibility. For all its analytic utility, Durkheim's presumption of a radical separation between sacred and secular does not directly apply to classical Athenian society. Instead there are signs of a structure in which the polis is deeply concerned with co-ordinating two separate realms — one consisting of sacred activities such as sacrifice, festival, and procession, the other consisting of justice and honesty among men. Only when both realms are in order could the city be expected truly to flourish. Thus a central function of the polis — and of its leadership — was to see that *both* aspects, both *ta hiera* and *ta hosia*, were properly tended.

If we modify our understanding of the sacred and secular distinction along the lines suggested earlier in this paper, it becomes easier to recognize that the Athenians in the classical period continued to regard the sacred aspect of civic life very seriously — not as the sole end or as an obsession of the state but as essential if the state were to flourish. It would, indeed, be hard to show that they were significantly less concerned with the sacred than their predecessors of the Archaic period. The shift from Archaic to Classical is then not a repudiation of the religious role of the state nor a movement to eliminate religious structures nor to confine religion to private or politically insignificant matters. The polis remains a society in which the Sacred has a central role, in some respects perhaps an even more vital role than before. Thus even in the most «enlightened» texts we find a continued insistence on the importance of religious rites and practices⁶⁷. Popular attitudes were likely to be strongly in favor of the view that sacrifices and worship of the gods were essential for civic well being. Lysias, in his criticism of Nicomachus gives clear voice to this view:

Now our ancestors, by sacrificing in accordance with the tablets (ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων), have handed down to us a city superior in greatness and prosperity to any other in Greece; so that it behooves us to

⁶⁶ M. I. FINLEY, *op. cit.* (n.60), p.94.

⁶⁷ E.g. Antiphon V (*Herodes*) 81.

perform the same sacrifices as they did, if for no other reason that that of the success which has resulted from those rites⁶⁸.

If this approach is productive, further inquiry may be able to confirm a rather different picture of Athens in the classical period. Athens in the fifth century B.C. experienced great intellectual growth. Such a period of radical change both within the elite and among wider population groups produced, as is widely recognized, great diversity of opinion and conflict of views on religious as well as other matters. But in its communal life the city did not substitute scepticism or agnosticism for piety. What changed was the way in which the Sacred was understood in the society and the way in which citizens approached and responded to it. Classical Athens severely limited the significance attached to ritual purity, and affirmed that justice among men was a prerequisite to the favor of the gods. At the same time the interpretation of the will of gods, the determination of religious obligation, and participation in cult and festival are opened up to a much wider segment of the population⁶⁹. The result was a new configuration, unlike that of the Archaic period, unusual among other Greek cities of the classical period, but expressive of some of the most distinctive features of the classical Athenian state⁷⁰.

APPENDIX

AXONES, KURBEIS AND EPHIALTES IN ANAXIMENES FGrHist 72 F 13

The structure investigated in the main body of this article is relatively well attested for classical Athens, much less clearly so for the Archaic period. There

⁶⁸ Lysias XXX (*Against Nicomachus*) 18, trans. W.R.M. Lamb. Nicomachus, of course, could answer that he was simply re-directing the state revenues so that newer cults could be supported along with the old. But the two speakers would then agree on the fundamental principle that the proper sacrifices and ceremonies were essential for the flourishing of the city. A similar attitude may be detected behind decrees such as *IG II-III*² 334 (the Panathenaic decree, ca. 335/4).

⁶⁹ See R. S. J. GARLAND, *art. cit.* (n. 17).

⁷⁰ The collocation *hiera kai hestia* occurs with considerable frequency in texts from Athens in the classical period. Its disappearance during the Hellenistic and Roman periods may in part be the result of shifts in documentation, but there is some reason to think that by the late fourth century a further change was underway and the expression was in fact disappearing. Jeffrey Purinton has called my attention to Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* IV 2.5 (1122b, 19-23) which implies a different way of looking at public expenditures, and of course the *Politics* implies quite a different view of the role of the Sacred in the polis. More revealing of changing popular attitudes may be the structure of the agenda indicated in *Ath. Pol.* 43.4.

are, however, as we have seen, hints of a similar linguistic pattern in Solon fr. 4 and even a suggestion that the Dracontic law code may have used the phrase *hiera kai hosia* or some close analogue. Are there any traces of civic practices that would indicate the structure was already present in Archaic Athens?

One possibility demands consideration. We are told that important texts from early Athens were inscribed on *kurbeis* and *axones*. In a valuable monograph Ronald Stroud has shown that the *kurbeis* were free-standing, stationary objects, often of bronze and triangular; the *axones* were four sided pieces of wood, arranged so that they could be rotated by pins⁷¹. After a careful study of the evidence Stroud concludes that the *kurbeis* contained a reinscribing of the same material that had originally stood on the *axones*. In his view the original *axones* were recopied in the fifth century on bronze *kurbeis*.

Recently Noel Robertson (*Historia* 35, 1986, p.147-176) has provided a characteristically learned and original treatment of the issue and of the story that Ephialtes brought the *axones* and the *kurbeis* down from the Acropolis. These important discussions obviate the need for a full treatment. One aspect of the problem, however, deserves further consideration.

Both Stroud and Robertson agree that the *axones* and the *kurbeis* contained essentially the same texts, the full Solonian law code, sacred and «secular». This was perhaps the dominant view even in antiquity. Yet as Plutarch, *Solon*, indicates, the point has long been in dispute. Among the ancient authorities who maintained that the *kyrbeis* held laws relating to sacrifices and other sacred matters, while the *axones* contained laws on other matters was Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 76 Nauck, cf. *FGrHist* 241 F 37 b, cf. Asclepiades, quoted and discussed on p. 36 of Stroud's monograph).

Such a long-standing issue is not likely to be resolved in our time. Yet there are some considerations that suggest that the two types of inscriptions contained different types of texts, the *kurbeis* sacral ones, i.e. the sacrificial calendar and regulations, and the *axones* texts relating to the administration of justice and related matters. If that is correct, the *hiera kai hosia* convergence would have a parallel in this Archaic Athenian pattern of inscribing the city's major *nomoi*. Passages such as Lysias xxx 20 and the Salaminioi decree (W.S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 5) line 76 refer to the *kurbeis* (and not the *axones*) when talking about sacrifices. The opposing evidence seems to me less compelling⁷².

⁷¹ R. STROUD, *The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon* (Univ. of California Publications: Classical Studies, 19), Berkeley 1979, esp. p. 41 ff.

⁷² The evidence that suggests that the *axones* and the *kurbeis* contained the same texts is problematic: *Ath. Pol.* 7.1, which mentions only the *kurbeis* and the Stoa Basileios, may be overly compressed, omitting the *axones* and other places in which the documents could be consulted. Although the phrasing should not be pressed too far, it is clear that in Aristotle's day the texts associated with the *kurbeis* could be found in the Stoa Basileios, the construction of which is well adapted to the display of inscribed legal texts. On the construction and its date, see above note 31.

Cratinus fr. 274 (Kock and Edmunds) *apud* Plutarch, *Solon* 25 alludes to the *kurbeis* of Solon and Draco. The phrasing seems to merge the then surviving Dracontic laws, which were arranged by *axones*, with the *kurbeis*, but is not inconsistent with the view that the

Several other considerations also suggest that the two documents held different types of texts: the differentiation of material, probably bronze for *kurbeis* and wood for the *axones*, and the variation in shape, triangular for *kurbeis*, tetragonal for the *axones*, suggest a difference in content and function. Since triangular bronze inscriptions in Athens seem to have most frequently been used for sacral texts, while wood or stone was used for more mundane matters, it seems likely that *axones* and *kurbeis* held different sorts of texts⁷³. To be sure, many sources seem to identify or confound the two, but it seems more likely that a difference in function would be lost or obscured in some writers than invented at a relatively early date.

If this alternative to Stroud's view proves correct, Ephialtes' actions as reported in Anaximenes *FGrHist* 72 F 13 are more readily interpreted. Before Ephialtes both *axones* and *kurbeis* will have been kept on the Acropolis, where even later Athenian inscriptions containing Athenian laws were normally set up. Perhaps because access to the Acropolis was at that time restricted, Ephialtes brought the two sets of texts down to the lower city «so that all might have access to them», as Pollux (VIII 128) phrased it⁷⁴. It would be natural under these circumstances to bring the two types of texts to different places, although the evidence for the location of the *axones* and *kurbeis*, as is well known, is full of problems⁷⁵. Indeed, the entire history of these inscriptions is unusually

kurbeis contained sacral texts, some of which may have been thought to derive from practices first set down in writing by Draco and later revised and restated by Solon.

Since Apollodorus' testimony on the documents (*FGrHist* 244 F 107) derives from his treatise *On the Gods*, it is likely primarily to have concerned sacral texts, hence its emphasis on the *kurbeis*. This is corroborated by the etymology proposed for the word (from Corybantes). Although some reports of Apollodorus' discussion (fr. 107b and d) suggest that he did not distinguish the contents of the *kurbeis* from that of the *axones*, the nature of his testimony is by no means entirely clear.

⁷³ Cf. R. STROUD, *op. cit.* (n. 71), p. 48f. and W. R. CONNOR, *TAPhA* 115 (1985), p. 84 n. 13. Note, however, that *Ath. Pol.* 53.4 attests the use of bronze for fourth century lists of ephebes.

⁷⁴ On access to the Acropolis see Thuc. II 17 and *IG* I³ 45 and M. B. HOLLINSHEAD, *AJA* 89 (1985), p. 438 and n. 92. Note also F. FROST, *Historia* 33 (1984), p. 291, F. KOLB, *JDAI* 92 (1977), p. 102, A. E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, p. 456. Access to the Acropolis was controlled in the early classical period by the *tamiai*: see W. S. FERGUSON, *Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge 1932. B. JORDAN, *Servants of the Gods*, 1979, p. 59 argues that these were the same as the *naukraroi* of Herodotus V 71.2. Did the *prytaneis* of this group meet in the Prytaneion and if so is that why some of the texts were brought to the Prytaneion?

⁷⁵ The sacral regulations (i.e. in my view the *kurbeis*) might appropriately have gone to the Prytaneion (as Pollux VIII 128 suggests) on the slopes of the Acropolis. On the location of the Prytaneion see Pausanias I 18.3 and S. G. MILLER, *Prytaneion*, Berkeley 1977, p. 42ff. and G. S. DONTAS, *Hesperia* 52 (1983), p. 48-63. On its functions see especially the law of Solon quoted in Plutarch, *Solon* 19, referring to those condemned in the Prytaneion by the Kings (i.e. the Phyllobasileis). Demosthenes XXIII (*Against Aristocrates*) 76 and the decree cited in Andocides I (*De mysteriis*) 78 allude to the Prytaneion's function as a homicide court. The Ephetae sat in the Prytaneion under the presidency of the Basileus — i.e. the archon Basileus. The other laws might have gone originally to the Agora, perhaps to the Bouleuterion or to the Stoa Basileios.

complex, but it would not be unreasonable to leave open the possibility that Ephialtes brought down from the Acropolis, perhaps to two different sites, *kurbeis* and the *axones* containing two different types of texts. This would have been a powerful symbolic act, emphasizing access to the texts and the relocation of civic decision-making ἐν μέσῳ. His gesture would also have affirmed a recurrent Athenian notion about the polis — its obligation to tend to both *ta hiera* and *ta hosia*.

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THE MINING LOBBY AT ATHENS

As any seasoned observer of modern political life knows, one cannot properly engage in any serious form of research into such, without giving due consideration to the place and influence of so-called «special interest» groups. The same was undoubtedly true with regard to political life in the ancient past as well. My purpose in this paper will be to argue that a «special interest» group — in this case what one might call a «mining lobby» — was directly implicated in the political upheavals of late fifth century B.C. Athens and, more specifically, that such a group formed an integral part of the conservative (oligarch) movement which on two occasions overthrew the elected democracy and seized power in the closing stages of the (for Athens) disastrous Peloponnesian War. I would want to suggest even further that such a group, even if it was not strictly identical (in terms of policy, if not of personnel) with the «Peace» party led by Nicias in the late 420's, provides at the very least a measure of continuity with that conservative, landbased movement, and that it comprised, at least in part, those most deeply affected by the closure of the Laureion silver mines brought about as a result of the occupation of Dekeleia by the Spartans in 414, and who sought a speedy settlement of the war with Sparta and a beginning to the restoration of Athens' economic and political fortunes.

Much of the evidence for the very existence of this late fifth century pressure group is admittedly indirect and in part somewhat conjectural, but is still, in my view, quite solid and the conclusions to be drawn thereby soundly based. Nevertheless, I propose to deal first with the evidence concerning the group's fourth century counterpart, which evidence, for its part, is virtually beyond dispute, and then seek to demonstrate both those links and the degree of historical and political continuity which undoubtedly exist between the two. In this way I hope to show beyond a reasonable doubt that the existence of such a «special interest» group in the political life of late fifth century Athens belongs not only in the realms of feasibility, but indeed very much in those of high probability.

THE FOURTH CENTURY - THE SETTING

Throughout the second quarter of the fourth century two groups dominated Athenian political life. One was led by Aristophon and Chares and comprised radical democrats whose aggressive, expansionist policies maintained the tradition previously upheld by Kleon, Hyperboulos and Kleophon in the fifth century, while the other was led by Euboulos (and later by Aischines) and represented the predominantly conservative landed interests. This latter group advocated a policy of conciliation and peace — Xenophon's remark in *Revenues* that «it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace» (5.1) clearly reflects his own particular allegiance — and one designed to keep potentially harmful adversaries at arms length from Athenian soil. In the 360's a young orator, Demosthenes, initially supported the Euboulans, but after the so-called 'spectre of Philip' had replaced the Persian and Theban questions as *the* central issue in Athenian political life, and the Aristophon group began to decline in influence, Demosthenes began to gather around himself a new, primarily anti-Macedonian faction. From that time on Athenian politics was essentially a battleground occupied and fought over by these two groups; the 'appeasement' party under Euboulos and Aischines who preferred to trust Philip's assurances of peaceful intent, and the Demosthenes group who felt nothing but distrust for the Macedonian's protestations and advocated therefore an aggressive military response to his increasing territorial encroachments. It is my contention both that the families with mining interests for the most part initially supported Euboulos, and that he considered their support sufficiently crucial to lend them, in return, his legislative and legal support. Mining profits were declared exempt from state taxes and liturgic assessment ([Dem.] XLII 17-19) and, in Hopper's opinion, it was Euboulos himself who introduced this particular piece of legislation¹. Furthermore, when the Demosthenes associate Moerokles attempted to extort money from certain mine lessees, it was Euboulos who prosecuted him (Dem. XIX 293).

However, in the period immediately following 346 many of these same mining families seem to have lost a measure of faith in the

¹ R. J. HOPPER, *The Attic Silver Mines in the Fourth Century B.C.*, *ABSA* 48 (1953), p. 250-254, esp. 251.

appeasement approach, and Demosthenes seems himself to have begun deliberately to court their support. In the speech *On the Chersonese* he specifically mentions the threat posed by Philip's encroachments to the security of the Laureion mines (VIII 45). This not unrealistic appraisal of Philip's intentions seems to have won over a sizeable proportion of the «mining lobby». Thus some of the political 'muscle' previously given over to the service of the «peace» party was now apparently solidly behind Demosthenes. Such 'converts' to the «war» party may even have become the hard-core of the Demosthenean opposition to appeasement. This indeed is the contention of Lauffer², and such radical transformations are not unheard of in the sphere of dramatic 'conversions'.

THE FOURTH CENTURY - THE «MINING LOBBY»

We will now proceed to deal with those political figures from the fourth century with known mining interests — as evidenced epigraphically (mining leases) or in literary works, such as those of Demosthenes, Hypereides and Aischines — with a brief assessment of the political alignment of each and, in some cases, of subsequent realignments. We begin with some of the apparent exceptions to the conversion thesis outlined above.

Kallimedon son of Kallikratos of Kollyte is listed as a lessee in an inscription of unknown date (*IG II-III*² 1587, 12). Nicknamed the «Crab», he remained a consistent and vigorous opponent of Demosthenes throughout his long political career³. Indeed, in the 320's he accompanied Antipater on a tour of Greece during which he spoke repeatedly in support of the Macedonians (Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 27). Unlike other Aischineans (Eubouloans) he apparently went beyond the cause of appeasement to embrace a full-blown pro-Macedonianism. The fact of his having a son named Agyrrhios (*IG II-III*² 653) leads one to the obvious conclusion — despite the reservations of the cautious Davies⁴ — that he was a descendant of both the late fifth-early fourth

² S. LAUFFER, *Prosopographische Bemerkungen zu den attischen Grubenpachtlisten*, *Historia* 6 (1957), p. 287-305.

³ S. LAUFFER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 291, calls Kallimedon Kallikratou Kollyteus «an awkward counter-example» of the anti-Macedonianism of the mining industry. In my view, Kallimedon was not alone in holding that position.

⁴ J. K. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971 (hereinafter *APF*), p. 279.

century figure Agyrrhios of Kollyte and of the latter's nephew, Kallistratos son of Kallikratos of Aphidna (Dem. xxiv 135), an Athenian politician of considerable influence in the 370's and 360's. The elder Agyrrhios, who was politically active as early as 405 (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 367 cum scholiis; scholium to *Eccles.* 102), was an opponent of Andokides as well as an associate of both Kallias of Alopeke (see below) and of the Theramenean (moderate) oligarch, Archinos of Koile. The anti-Theban general Kallistratos, Hopper suggests⁵, may have turned to the Laureion mines during his own political ascendancy as a source of state revenue in the years following the Social War. If so, the question arises as to whether his initial interest stemmed from a long-standing family tradition of involvement in the mining industry, and thus whether the name of Agyrrhios can be added to those fifth-century figures who, it will be shown below, could be said to have combined an exhibition of oligarchic sympathies — in his case, association with both Kallias and the moderate oligarch Archinos — with demonstrated mining interests.

Aleximachos of Pelex is listed as a lessee (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 14-30, no. 1, 78-79). His own father was probably the 418/7 Treasurer of Athena, Charinos son of Aleximachos of Pelex (*IG* I² 283), since another inscription dated close to the time of the lease inscriptions contains the patronymic Cha(rinou) for an Aleximachos of Pelex⁶. In 346 Aleximachos opposed Demosthenes by proposing that the name of Cersobleptes be added to the list of allies covered by the ratification of the Peace (Aisch. II 83). He later gave evidence at Aischines' trial on behalf of the accused man (Aesch. II 85).

Thrasyboulos son of Kephisodoros of Anagyrous is listed as a workshop owner and lessee (Crosby S12,12)⁷ and his «apparently paranoid» brother, Meidias⁸, as a lessee and property owner (*IG* II-III² 1582, 44.82). Meidias, «remorselessly characterised by Demosthenes»⁹, was a supporter of Euboulos and also the Athenian proxenos for Plutarch of

⁵ R. J. HOPPER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 253.

⁶ J. S. TRAILL, *Diakris, the Inland Trittyes of Leontis*, *Hesperia* 47 (1978), p. 90-109, makes this very identification on p. 97 (comm. on 1.54). The inscription in question is dated to 371/0.

⁷ References to the mining lists edited by Margaret CROSBY, *The Leases of the Laureion Mines*, *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 190-312, will hereinafter be referred to in the text as Crosby... and those in *More Fragments of Mining Leases from the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* 26 (1957), p. 1-23, as Crosby S...

⁸ J. K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 385.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Eretria (Dem. xxi 374). Thrasyboulos himself, also bitterly opposed to Demosthenes (*Vit.X.or.* 844D), was a friend of Demosthenes' errant guardian Aphobos (Dem. XXI 200), and gave aid to the exiled Kallistratos of Aphidna (Dem. i 52). A son of Meidias later supported the aging Euboulan, Phokion, when the latter was prosecuted by Glaukippos, the son of the arch-Demosthenean Hypereides (Dem. xxi 207).

Thrasymedes son of Diophantes of Sphettos is listed as a lessee (Crosby S2,13). Otherwise unknown, apart from the fact that he had a son Diophantes (*IG* II-III² 1601,19.21.23), he is named as a partisan of Aischines by Pseudo-Demosthenes (xxxv 6).

Epikrates son of Philokrates of Eleusis is listed as a lessee (Crosby S2,36-37). His son Philokrates was a leading opponent of Demosthenes even in the period after 346. He frequently spoke against Demosthenes in debate (Dem. xxiii 249). His closest associate in opposing Demosthenes was the Gephyraios, Aristogeiton ([Dem.] xxv 44), the leading member of whose *genos* was the Euboulan general Proxenos of Aphidna¹⁰, himself the descendant of his namesake, the moderate oligarch of 411/10 (see below).

Phaidros of Sphettos is listed as a lessee (*IG* II-III² 1582,180-1), while his son *Thymochares* is named elsewhere as a lessee also (*Ath. Mitt.* 62, 1937, p. 11, no. 12; Crosby 13,94). In addition, a *Kallias of Sphettos* is listed as a lessee and property owner (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 14-30, no. 1, 42.48.65), while his son *Phaidros* (the lessee) served as general in 347/6 (*IG* II-III² 213,8) as well as in 334/3 (*IG* II-III² 1623,240) and in 323/2 (*Strabo* x 1.6). In 346 Phaidros gave evidence for Aischines (Aisch. i 43), but by 341, at which time he acted as guarantor for the Chalkis expedition (*IG* II-III² 1623,174), he had clearly joined the side of Demosthenes, thus being our first convert in the struggle for the support of the miners! His own son Thymochares supported the Demosthenes-Lykurgos group (*IG* II-III² 682).

Nausikles is named as the owner of both an *edaphe* and a mining property (Hypereides iv 34). Though his demotic has been very tentatively restored as (A)lo(peketen) in one inscription (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, no. 16, p. 247), it is at least equally possible that he is to be identified with Nausikles the son of Klearchos of Oe (*IG* II-III² 1623,313.329; 1496,40.49). A general in 352 (Diodorus xvi 37,3), and in 346 clearly a

¹⁰ 349/8 - *IG* II-III² 207; 346/5 - Dem. XIX 50.73. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Demosthenes*, New York - London 1914, at p. 311, identifies Proxenos as a supporter of Euboulos.

supporter of Aischines when he proposed the sending of the famous embassy (Aisch. II 184), after Chaironeia he went over to Demosthenes¹¹. In a speech by Hypereides the orator mentions one Nausikles as being accused of illegally operating a mine (IV 34). Davies rightly points out that since this Nausikles is referred to without demotic, Hypereides surely must be referring to the only well-known bearer of the name¹². Hence we have sufficient evidence to connect Nausikles of Oe to the mining industry.

Diotimos son of Diopeithes of Euonymon is listed as a registrant and property-owner (*IG* II-III² 1582,65-66). He supported Meidias when the latter was prosecuted by Demosthenes (Dem. XXI 208), but after 343 is found as a strong supporter of the latter's Chalkis policy (*IG* II-III² 1623,194). With Hypereides and Nausikles he was regarded as being in the very forefront of anti-Macedonian politics (*Vit.X.or.* 844F). Davies regards his political commitment against Macedonia as having been unambiguous (*APF*, p. 164), even at the time when he offered personal support to Meidias. However, the earlier prosecution of his cousin Autokles, the son of Strombichides, by Hypereides in 363 suggests otherwise (Hypereides frags. 55-65). Davies suggests the identification of the father of this Autokles, Strombichides the son of Diotimos, with the 412/1 general and suspected oligarch (*APF*, p. 164).

Simios son of Diodoros of Paiania is listed as a lessee (Crosby 13,45-46). An inscription from the mid-fourth century records the marriage of an unknown son of Diodoros of Paiania to a daughter of Aristomachos of Alopeke (*IG* II-III² 7040). Might Simios or a brother have married into the family of Aristomachos of Alopeke, himself the son of Kritodemus, the Athenian general killed by the Spartans in 405 (Lys. XIX 16)? Aristomachos was himself Athenian agent for Cersobleptes in 353/2 (Dem. XXIII 13.14) and therefore probably an opponent at that time of Demosthenes.

Onetor son of Arkesilas of Melite is listed as a registrant and lessee (*IG* II-III² 1582,63.69). A pupil of Isokrates (Isok. XV 93), Onetor supported his brother-in-law Aphobos in a court action against Demosthenes (Dem. XXIX 28). After 346 however, Onetor's sons, Philon, Onetor II and Philonides demonstrated marked pro-Demosthenean leanings, particularly through their liturgical activities (*IG* II-III² 1622,658).

¹¹ *Vit.X.or.* 844F; Aisch. III 159; Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 21.3.

¹² *APF*, p. 397.

Arizelos of Sphettos is named as a workshop owner by Aischines (I 101). He was the father of the Timarchos who was Demosthenes' associate in the period after 343 (Dem. xix 2). Arizelos was himself prosecuted by Aischines (Aisch. I 102).

Polyeuktos of Sphettos is listed as a lessee (Crosby 9,16). In 342 he toured Greece with Demosthenes espousing the anti-Macedonian cause (Dem. ix 72). With Hypereides, Nausikles and Diotimos he was regarded as in the vanguard of that cause (*Vit.X.or.* 841E).

Hypereides son of Glaukippos of Kollyte is listed as a lessee (*IG* II-III² 1585,12.13). A pupil of both Plato (*Vit.X.or.* 848D) and of Isokrates (*ibid.*) he was, despite his mining interests, consistently anti-Macedonian. On behalf of the Demosthenean cause he prosecuted many of the opponents of that cause, including Aristophon (Schol. to Aisch. I 64), Autokles (see above), Diopieithes (Hyper. II 29), and Philokrates (*ibid.*; Dem. xix 116), the last-named the eponym of the 346 Peace. His own son Glaukippos prosecuted the old Euboulan Phokion (see above). Following the Harpalos scandal Hypereides parted company with Demosthenes, but remained vigorous in his opposition to Macedonia (*Vit.X.or.* 846C.848F).

The «mining lobby» was hence clearly both influential and significant in the political life of Athens in the second and third quarters of the fourth century. It is surely not unreasonable to infer that it could have been so also in the late fifth century, particularly after the 414 Spartan occupation of Dekeleia rendered the Laureion mines virtually unworkable. This thesis we will now consider.

THE FIFTH CENTURY - THE SETTING

Apart from occasional references such as those to the source of income of the elder Kallias of Alopeke in Nepos (*Cimon* 1.3) and his reputed nickname, «Lakkoploutos»¹³ (see below), there is very little information about any mining industry in Athens in the first half of the fifth century. One of the first extant literary references to mining is to be found in Aristophanes' *Knights*, a play produced in 424. In it the character of the sausage-seller speaks of his intention to purchase mines, with a clear expectation of substantial profit (362). Hopper raises the question, and profitably so in my view, as to whether the loss

¹³ *APF*, p. 260.

of Amphipolis — and therefore of its silver-mines — occasioned the urgent development by the Athenians of an alternative source, in this case the hitherto largely untapped Laureion deposits¹⁴. Xenophon, writing in the middle of the fourth century, and probably doing so in support of the policies of Euboulos, who had himself secured the author's recall from exile, put up a number of revenue proposals related to the mining industry in his work *Revenues*. Xenophon maintains in this work that despite extensive mining activity, still greater exploitation of the area was possible. If this was true in the fourth century — and there is no reason to doubt Xenophon's assessment — how much more so would it have been the case in the preceding one? In Aristophanes' *Birds*, produced in 414, the chorus speaks of «treasures of silver long hidden away in the earth» (593f.), the character Euelpides of digging for «the buried casket» (602), and the Chorus again of its conviction that «little Lauriotic owlets shall always be flocking in» (1106). This last is a clear reference to the importance to the Athenian economy and money supply of the Laureion silver and of confidence in the continuity of that supply.

Shortly thereafter the Spartans occupied Dekeleia and this made all of Attica outside of the city-Peiraeus region somewhat vulnerable. Thucydides informs us that the purpose of the occupation was «to annoy the plain and richest parts of the country» (vii 19,1). The words of Lysias confirm the general impression that the occupation succeeded in making many Attic farms simply unworkable (xx 28). Thucydides further reports that as many as 20.000 slaves fled to the Spartan garrison there (vii 27,1). Xenophon, while acknowledging that the mines themselves could not be threatened by an invading enemy (*Revenues* iv 43), maintains however that the leasing of slaves to mine operators ceased to be a profitable source of revenue after the 414 occupation (*Revenues* iv 25). In light of this information a clear picture of the causes behind the apparent collapse of a number of personal family fortunes in Athens, such as those of the families of Kallias of Alopeke and Nikias of Kydantidai for example, begins to emerge (see below). From Aristophanes' *Frogs*, produced in 407¹⁵, from Hellanikos (*FGrHist.* 323a F 26) and from Philochoros (*FGrHist.* 328 F 141), we learn of the introduction of a gold-based coinage in Athens itself

¹⁴ R. J. HOPPER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 248 n. 345.

¹⁵ Line 720, where «newly-minted gold» is referred to by the Chorus alongside «our ancient coinage».

around the time of the disastrous naval defeat off Notium. Surely it is not too fanciful to suggest that this was necessitated by the loss of the silver workings at Laureion. *Frogs* provides even more information, this time to the effect that the Athenians had even to have recourse to using a debased plated coinage. There we find reference to the usage «now» of «yesterday's worthless and pinchbeck coins» (725) which were apparently not recalled until after the victory off Cnidus in 393. This we learn from Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, produced in that very year (820-822). At this time the Laureion mines were apparently reopened, though there was apparently no stampede of applicants seeking leases! Euboulos successfully sought exemption from liturgical assessment for those engaged «in the mines», as we saw above, though the risks entailed in the industry — whether it be from the loss of investment capital or from the everpresent threat of sycophantic litigation — meant, in Hopper's words, «that it is not suprising that there was no great rush of those without *what may be called a family tradition* (my emphasis) to make mining concessions»¹⁶.

In 421 the conservative, landowning class — led by the «miner» s (see below) — had successfully brought about the conclusion of a war which had wreaked such havoc and done so much damage to farms, crops, and such like through the ravages in particular of the annual Spartan invasions. After 414 the Spartan presence was no longer only an annual nuisance, a temporary foray from the south. It had become permanent. Slaves fled; farms and mines became unworkable without them and dangerous besides. Who were the people who combined to bring about a resolution of this conflict with Sparta in order to salvage a near-ruinous situation, even at the price of the democracy? To quote Xenophon's words once again, «it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace» (see above). Surely it is again not too fanciful to imagine that a «lobby» of mining interests, stung into existence and action by the loss of income from the Laureion mines, motivated by precisely the same sort of considerations as moved their counterparts in their responses to Philip in the succeeding century, and reinforced by those not directly involved in the industry itself, but nevertheless «hurt» by the drying-up of the silver-supply, was an integral part of the revolutionary movement? And who might one suggest then were the actual players in this social, economic and political drama?

¹⁶ R. J. HOPPER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 251.

THE FIFTH CENTURY - THE OLIGARCHIC «MINING LOBBY»

The names of more than 120 Athenians can be plausibly associated with either or both of the oligarchic regimes of 411/10 (including both the Four Hundred and the more moderate Five Thousand) and 404/3 (including both the Thirty and its successor Boards of Ten)¹⁷. Of these — against a background of precious little evidence concerning the financial interests of particular individuals in the late fifth century — a significant number can plausibly be shown, through the appearance of the names of certain or probable descendants in the fourth century mining lists (there being no equivalent fifth century lists extant, if they indeed ever did exist), to have had some involvement in the mining of silver in Attica.

While *Kallias son of Hipponikos of Alopeke* is directly implicated in neither regime, the involvement of both he and his illegitimate brother *Hermogenes* in the circle of Sokrates, along with both Alkibiades and the radical oligarch Kritias, and his links with Demonikos of Alopeke¹⁸ and Archinos of Koile (see above), both of them partisans of Theramenes (i.e. oligarchs of moderate persuasion), makes it virtually certain that he was, at the very least, in sympathy with the oligarchic movement. Certainly, as has been shown already, he would have had no reason to regret the overthrow of the democracy, particularly in 411, and every reason to applaud it. The grandfather of our Kallias, and his namesake, was, as we have seen already, nicknamed «Lakkoploutos» (i.e. «pit-wealthy»)¹⁹. Nepos says that this Kallias «magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat» (*Cimon* 13). According to Lysias, his property was at one time rated at 200 talents (xix 48). His son Hipponikos, himself the father of the younger Kallias, is said by Xenophon to have owned 600 slaves, most of whom were leased out to mine operators (*Revenues* iv 14). The family apparently suffered a serious financial setback in the time of the younger Kallias (see above for a discussion of the probable causes) and his property was assessed afterwards at a value of only two talents (Lysias xix 48)! However, a certain descendant, *Kallias of Alopeke*, appears as a property-owner in the fourth century mining lease lists²⁰. Other probable family connections can also be found in those lists.

¹⁷ See my (unpublished) doctoral thesis *Prosopographical Studies of the Oligarchic Movement in Late Fifth Century Athens*, Monash University 1978.

¹⁸ D. I. RANKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 110.

¹⁹ *APF*, p. 260.

²⁰ *IG* II-III² 1582; *Hesperia* 10 (1941), p. 14-30, no. 1,64; Crosby 16a.

Eukrates and *Diognetos of Kydantidai*, brothers of the famous general Nikias, are both more obviously implicated, particularly in the 411 regime. Eukrates was a general in both 412/11 (Arist. *phanes*, *Lysistrata* 103 cum schol.) and 405/4 (Lysias xviii 4) — an office which a number of oligarchs occupied in those two particular years as a part of probable conspiratorial preparations leading up to the establishment of the Four Hundred and the Thirty regimes respectively — and while he was an eventual victim of the crude violence of the Thirty (a fate shared by democrats and moderate oligarchs alike), was originally thought acceptable enough by the 404/3 conspirators to be asked to join them. Diognetos, on the other hand, is known to have been in exile during part of the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia (Lysias xviii 9), and while this could conceivably be related to an involvement in the events of 416²¹, it is more probable that it was due to his participation in the 411 conspiracy and subsequent revolutionary government. Whatever the actual date or circumstance of his period of exile, he later returned to the city to «sit out» the regime of the Thirty (Lysias xvii 21), and while he certainly did not support it, it is equally clear that he did not actively oppose it either. This behaviour in the period 404/3 was not that of a convinced democrat. Nikias of Kydantidai himself owned at least one thousand slaves whom he leased out to a mining operator, Sosias the Thracian (Xen., *Reven.* iv 14). According to Plutarch, Nikias also worked slaves in his own mines (*Nikias* iv 2), of which he owned or leased a large number in the Laureion district²². His estate was valued at one time at around 100 talents (Lysias xix 47), although, like that of Kallias, it suffered some disastrous reverse in the late fifth century, for it was assessed, at the time of the death of his son Nikeratos, to have been worth no more than 14 talents (*ibid.*). However, the family continued to

²¹ J. K. DAVIES, *APF*, p. 405, and I. KIRCHNER (*PA* 3863) both identify the Diognetos who was implicated in the 416 Mysteries scandal and who fled Athens to avoid trial (Andok. I 15) with the brother of Nikias. However, the latter could equally well be identified with another Diognetos who is named as one of those who sat as Commissioners of Enquiry into the same incident (Andok. I 14). Dekeleia was not occupied by the Spartans until 414, and Diognetos' claim that he did not go there during his exile would tend to place that event after 414. Further, our Diognetos' claim that he held no «office» under an oligarchy (Lysias XVIII 10), even if true, would not rule out a position of sympathy or outright support for it. However, even if Davies and Kirchner are correct, exile in 416 would not be an inappropriate credential for an oligarch in 411.

²² The issue of the proprietary status of mines in the Laureion district in the fourth century is more than adequately discussed in R. J. HOPPER, art. cit. (n. 1).

be involved in the mining industry in the fourth century, represented in the lease lists by one Nikeratos of Kydantidai — a workshop and property owner (Crosby 19,24.26; 15,46) — and one Nikias of Kydantidai — a property owner (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 14-30, no. 1, 41.42.58.64.65) — probably a father-son combination.

A *Kleokritos*, who had previously been archon in 413/12 (*IG* 1³ 405,1), appeared with the «democratic» forces at Munychia in 403 and was used by them as an intermediary to encourage the surrender of the «city» (i.e. moderate oligarch) party (Xen., *Hell.* II 4.20). Such a role would have eminently suited a Theramenean oligarch who still retained a measure of credibility with the «city» party, some of whom would have been former associates²³. A *Kleokritos of Aigilia* is listed as a mine workshop owner in the fourth century lease lists (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 14-30, no. 1, 45.46). The name is a most uncommon one (there are only three entries in *Prosopographia Attica*²⁴) and consequently the miner from Aigilia is almost certainly a descendant of the moderate oligarch from 403. Was the latter a member of the «mining lobby» of that time? (See below for discussion of the evidence for mining involvement across several generations).

Two bearers of the relatively uncommon name *Diomedon* are known to have been associated with one or other of the various oligarchic factions in the period 413-406. One of them was a general in both 412/11 (Thucydides VII 54) and 407/6 (Xen., *Hell.* I 7,1 ff.). In the latter year he is to be found among the victims of the Arginousai trial (*ibid.*). In 412/11 he was the person successfully put forward by the somewhat brief Peisandros-Alkibiades alliance to replace the disgraced radical oligarch Phrynichos on the Board of Generals, and in 406 was certainly one of the associates of Alkibiades successfully eliminated by the prosecution skills of the associate of Antiphon and Phrynichos, Kallixenos (*ibid.*). The other Diomedon, about whom little else is known, paradoxically appears on the other side in the infamous 406 trial, as a supporter of Kallixenos (*ibid.*). A *Diomedon* (demotic unknown) is listed as a

²³ The followers of Theramenes of Steiria, while originally supportive of the Thirty's rule, eventually broke with the more radical elements under Kritias' leadership. Theramenes himself was executed, while some, like Archinos of Koile, fled the city and joined forces with Thrasyboulos.

²⁴ I would like here to express my profound appreciation to Prof. Michael Osborne of the Classics Department, University of Melbourne, for allowing me free access to the preparatory materials for his edition of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, II. *Attica*.

property owner in the lease lists (Crosby 16a-b, 61). The name is uncommon and a family connection with either the late fifth century general or the associate of Kallixenos would give him a link with the fifth century oligarchic movement. In which case it would raise again the question of whether this fifth century person had mining interests and was thus a member of the «mining lobby».

Mantitheos of Thorikos was an associate of Alkibiades in 416 and fled Athens with some of his fellow-accused as result of investigations into the so-called Hermai affair (Andok. I 43). He later returned to Athens and was subsequently accused of complicity in the murderous activities of the 404/3 oligarchic regime (Lysias, XVI *passim*). His son Mantias married a daughter of another suspected oligarch, Polyaratos of Cholargos²⁵. Another daughter of this Polyaratos married the Sokratic Eryximachos, an adherent of the moderate oligarchic «city» party in 403 (Lysias, frg. 139). Polyaratos was also connected by marriage to the large and influential *Menexenos-Dikaiogenes of Kydathenaion* family grouping²⁶, as was the Gephyraios Proxenos of Aphidna who was himself, like Polyaratos, a Hellenotamias in 410/9 (*IG* I² 304A), and thus a suspected fellow oligarch. A *Mantias son of Mantitheos of Thorikos* is named as a lessee ([Dem.] XL 52)²⁷, as is also his son *Mantitheos*. Their family connection with the fifth century oligarch Mantitheos is beyond question, despite the difficulty raised by Davies in making a clear identification between the elder Mantitheos and the oligarch (*APF*, p. 364).

Kritias of Aphidna was a close associate of Alkibiades and probably engineered the latter's recall from exile in 407 (Plut., *Alkibiades* 33). An uncle of the philosopher Plato, Kritias was the outstanding leader of the radical oligarchs in 404/3 (Lysias XII 43). A *Dropides son of Hermippos of Aphidna* is listed as a lessee (*IG* II-III² 2636). He is most probably a descendant of our Kritias. Although Loeper's thesis regarding the demotic identification of the Thirty Tyrants would place Kritias in the

²⁵ Mantias was previously married to and subsequently divorced from Plangon, daughter of Pamphilos of Keiriadai. After the death of his second wife, the daughter of Polyaratos and herself the widow of the demagogue Kleon's son Kleomedon, he resumed a relationship of sorts with Plangon, who bore him at least one other son. Polyaratos was a Hellenotamias in 410/09 (*IG* I² 304A) and as such would have been appointed to that post by the moderate regime of the Five Thousand.

²⁶ See D. I. RANKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 178.

²⁷ See the commentary on Crosby 2,11-12.

tribe Erechtheis²⁸, Aphidna is a more likely deme for him. His earliest known ancestor is Dropides, archon in 645/4²⁹, whose own son Kritias occupied the same office around the year 600³⁰. The oligarch Kritias' own father was one Kallaischros, and he may probably be identified with Kallaischros of Aphidna, who is named in an inscription from 438/7 (*IG* I² 354). Kritias son of Apollodorus of Aphidna, secretary to the Sacred Treasurers in 433/2, 432/1 and 431/0 (*IG* I² 233.234.258.259.277.278.279) is probably another relative. Further evidence of the involvement of the family of Kritias in the mining industry in the fourth century is provided by the appearance in the lease lists of the name of a Speusippos, who is listed as a property owner (Crosby 18,26). He can probably be identified with *Speusippos son of Eurymedon of Myrrhinous* (*PA* 12847), since the name is not particularly common. This Speusippos was the nephew of Plato and was his successor at the Academy. The Speusippos who was the accuser of Andokides' father in 416 (Andok. I 17) is too early to be identified with him, but is almost certainly, again given the uncommonness of the name, a relative. All of this again raises the question whether Kritias himself was, at least in part, motivated in his activities by the closure of the mines.

Rhinon son of Charikles of Paiania was a moderate oligarch in 403 and a member of the second Board of Ten which succeeded the Thirty and itself brought about the reconciliation of the «Peiraieus» (democrat) and «city» parties (*Ath. Pol.* xxxviii 1). Though unquestionably an oligarch, Rhinon was held in sufficiently high regard by the party of Thrasyboulos to be immediately elected general for the year 403/2 (*Isok.* xviii 6.8) and to further public office as a Treasurer of Athena in 402/1 (*IG* II-III² 1370.1371). An *Arrheinides son of Charikles of Paiania* is listed as a lessee (*IG* II-III² 2495,8). He was almost certainly the grandson or great-grandson of the moderate oligarch, and thus the appearance of his name in the lease lists at the very least raises the question of the possible involvement of the latter in the fifth century mining «lobby».

Thymochares (possibly of Sphettos) was a general in 411 under both the Four Hundred (*Thuc.* viii 86.1) and the Five Thousand (*Xen., Hell.* I

²⁸ R. LOEPER, *The Thirty Tyrants*, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvetsheniya*, May 1896, p. 90-101.

²⁹ J. CADOUX, *The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides*, *JHS* 68 (1948), p. 70-123, esp. 90.

³⁰ J. CADOUX, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 92.

1.1) regimes. He was without a doubt an associate of Theramenes (Thuc., *ibid.*). As indicated above, a *Kallias of Sphettos* is listed in the fourth century lists as a lessee and property owner (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 14-30, no. 1, 42.48.65), his son *Phaidros* as a lessee (*IG* II-III² 1582, 180.181) and his grandson *Thymochares* as a lessee also (*Ath. Mitt.* 62, p. 11,12; Crosby 13,94). While Davies thinks it «a matter of uncertainty whether this notable early Hellenistic family can be traced back beyond its first certain occurrence in 367/6» (*APF*, p. 524), he finds the possible connection with the fifth century oligarchic general Thymochares promising. It is quite feasible that the general came from the tribe Akamantis and the name was, after all, very much a family one. In my view, Davies is far too cautious; the connection is indeed compelling³¹. Was this fifth century figure then a «miner» also?

Three others are, like Kallias above, not directly implicated in either the 411/10 or the 404/3 regimes, but are closely enough connected with one or other of the factions involved to be included among probable sympathisers.

Chairedemos son of Elpias (the son of one of the only two known fifth century bearers of that name)³² was accused of complicity with Alkibiades and others in the 416 profanation of the sacred Mysteries in the house of Pherekles of Themakos (*Andok.* 1 52). An Elpias is listed as the father of a lessee whose own name is lost to us (Crosby S7,11). The name is an uncommon one and a family connection with Chairadedemos the son of Elpias an attractive possibility.

Pherekles of Themakos himself thereby, of course, also has impeccable Alkibiadean connections and, therefore, presumably with the radical Kritias clique (*Andok.* 1 17). A *Pherekles of Themakos* is listed as the owner of an *edaphe* (a property in which mining activity took place) (Crosby 19,16). A family link is beyond question here.

Teleas son of Telenikos of Pergase (both names were extremely uncommon) held public office in 415 as secretary to the Treasurers of Athena (*IG* I² 127.128.159.160.183). A Teleas is reported to have proposed a Commission of Enquiry into the Hermai Affair in 416 (*Andok.* 1 36), in which scandal, ironically, a Telenikos is implicated (*Andok.* 1 35). On that Commission sat Peisandros himself (*Andok.* 1 36), the oligarch and for a brief period at least an ally of Alkibiades. A

³¹ R. J. HOPPER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 212, finds it likewise quite feasible.

³² The other is Elpias son of Ach(——) mentioned in a decree dated to 415 (*IG* I³ 428,8). He may well have been the father of Chairadedemos.

Teleas is also associated with Peisandros in a fragment attributed to Phrynichos (frg. 20). The grammateus Teleas is almost certainly to be identified with both those mentioned above. The Telenikos reported as having been implicated in the scandal cannot be identified positively and he certainly cannot be the father of the associate of Peisandros. A *Telenikos of Pergase* is listed as the father of a mine registrant whose own name is, like that of the son of Elpias above, lost to us (Crosby S2,34). That he was the descendant of Teleas son of Telenikos of Pergase, the associate of Peisandros, is very likely.

One other name from the lists deserves mention. A *Menexenos son of Metaxenos of Dekeleia* is listed as a lessee and registrant (IG II—III² 1582,69.70.75). Little is known about him and while no direct or certain link can be made for him to any known fifth century oligarch, his name is found almost exclusively — in known sources — within either the family of Menexenos of Kydathenaion, with all its attendant oligarchic associations (see above for references to Polyaratos of Chologoros and Proxenos of Aphidna) or that of the mentor of Alkibiades and Kritias, the celebrated philosopher Sokrates. Either alternative, if a positive connection could be firmly established, would strongly suggest an association with the fifth century oligarchic movement.

CONCLUSIONS

We have seen in the cases of Kallias of Alopeke and of Nikias of Kydantidai that mining activity is traceable across several generations in some families, and spanning across at least two centuries in time. It is also evident that such activity, though subject to severe disruption, was able to be renewed after disastrous financial reverses. In the cases of some families, those for whom the only evidence available is of activity in the fourth century, such activity is still clearly traceable across at least two generations. There are then clear family mining «traditions». The examples of Mantias and Mantitheos of Thorikos, of Kallias, Phaidros and Thymochares of Sphettos, and of Dropides of Aphidna and Speusippos come readily to mind. Hopper acknowledges this, yet still casts some doubt on the Thorikos connection, which he characterises as possible «short-term speculators»³³ whose activity was in any case contemporaneous with one another. Yet, despite this particular reser-

³³ R. J. HOPPER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 245.

vation, it is, in my view, not at all unreasonable to infer that cross-generational involvement was fairly typical of those who operated in the mining industry, and that evidence of a family involvement in the mining industry in the fourth century raises the odds of there having been similar involvement in the fifth. And further, once more it is equally reasonable to infer that, as there was in the fourth, there was also in the fifth century a «mining lobby» of sorts which played an influential role in the events of the last decade of that century.

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THE BARGES OF THE KOMANOS FAMILY

In a forthcoming paper, read in 1986 to the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology in Athens¹ and dealing with the famous «Bodleian Archive on Corn Transport» published in the early '50s by Reekmans and Van 't Dack², I examined whether the boats mentioned in two documents with a few seeming anomalies were perhaps not the property of Diospolis Mikra, even if Egyptian towns in Ptolemaic times lacked any form of corporate personality. The answer to this question being definitely negative, an attempt was then made to determine as precisely as possible, though not without some speculation, the status of both the barges and the persons involved. Particularly intricate, as it seemed, was the case of a certain Neon³, designated on the verso of no. 8 as μῖ(σθωτής?) and supposedly at the same time *kybernetes* of a boat owned by the crown or by an unknown private person.

Since the publication of the archive its historical relevance has increased considerably, for it has been pointed out that it dates from the period May-August/September 187 B.C. and that the provisioning of the garrison of Syene to which it refers belongs to the great campaign of Komanos son of Ptolemaios⁴, who was recovering Southern Egypt for Ptolemy V Epiphanes⁵. It can be deduced from a much-discussed Columbia papyrus⁶ that at that very time (March/April rather than September/October of the same year) Komanos had his headquarters

¹ *Des bateaux de Diospolis Mikra? A propos de SB VI 9367 vii et viii* (forthcoming in the Proceedings of the Congress).

² T. REEKMAN - E. VAN 'T DACK, *A Bodleian Archive on Corn Transport*, CE 27 (1952), p. 149-195 (= SB VI 9367).

³ *Pros. Ptol.* V 13847 = *14033 = *14105; cf. ZPE 8 (1971), p. 269.

⁴ *Pros. Ptol.* I + VIII 194a, 270; II + VIII 1833; IV 10087a; VI 14611, *14928, *14677(?), 16865(?); W.L. WESTERMANN, *Komanos of the First Friends*, Archiv 13 (1939), p. 1-12; W. PEREMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, *Komanos des premiers amis*, in *Prosopographica (Studia Hellenistica, 9)*, Louvain-Leiden 1953, p. 22-33; C.B. WELLES, *The Problem of Comanus*, BASP 2 (1965), p. 93-104; E. OLSHAUSEN, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten I (Studia Hellenistica, 19)*, Lovanii 1974, p. 54-56 no. 33, p. 83-84 no. 59; L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography (Verhand. Kon. Acad. Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Kl. Lett., Jg. 38, no. 78)*, Brussel 1975, p. 82-85 no. 042; Id., *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque (Studia Hellenistica, 23)*, Lovanii 1977, p. 74-82.

⁵ Esp. L. MOOREN, *Hiérarchie*, p. 78-79.

⁶ W.L. WESTERMANN, *Archiv* 13 (1939), p. 1-3 = SB V 8257; cf. BL VII, p. 198.

at Akoris in the Hermopolite nome (a region where he was granted an estate, the Κομάνου δωρεά⁷), since some goods sent to him by ship under the command of captain(?) Pais⁸ and the supervision of a *hegemon* were to be delivered τοῖς περὶ Ἀκῶριν, i.e. to «the officials at Akoris» or «those in charge of Akoris»⁹. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the *ploion*¹⁰ belonged to the crown, to Komanos personally, or to another private individual. The second possibility is far from absurd, as many high-ranking persons, men as well as women, owned river barges mainly engaged in the transport of state grain¹¹. Moreover, Clarysse has shown in a recent article¹² that the Aratomenes attested on 6 September 184 B.C. as the owner of two *ploia* with a capacity of 4,000 artabae each, forwarding wheat from Ptolemais Hormou to the royal granary at Alexandria¹³, is to be identified with one of Komanos' brothers. They appear together in a list of Delphic *proxenoi* from 188/7¹⁴: Komanos, Aratomenes¹⁵, Ptolemaios¹⁶, and ... Neon¹⁷.

The appearance of the last name in this list is too striking to be disregarded, the more so as it is not a very frequent one¹⁸. If I had made the proper link at the time, I might have been spared much worrying. For, if the obvious identification is accepted, Neon can only be regarded in the Bodleian papyrus as the barge's owner¹⁹. This puts him

⁷ *P. Ryl.* II 207a l. 4 (2nd cent. A.D.); cf. W. L. WESTERMANN, *art. cit.*, p. 3, 5, 11.

⁸ *Pros. Ptol.* V 13850. According to C. B. Welles (*BASP* 2, 1965, p. 98-99, referring to the use of παραπέμψας in l. 10) Pais was a police officer rather than a ship captain. In view of the *kappa* (ll. 2-3: πρὸς Παῖν κυβερνή[την]) and the presence of an escorting army officer, I would prefer, at least provisionally, to stick to the original interpretation.

⁹ C. B. WELLES, *art. cit.*, p. 98.

¹⁰ Ll. [4], 7, [10].

¹¹ H. HAUBEN, *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 167-170; W. CLARYSSE, *CE* 56 (1981), p. 347-349; Maarit KAIMIO, in *P. Rainer Cent.*, p. 310.

¹² W. CLARYSSE, *Aratomenes, Brother of Komanos*, *CE* 56 (1981), p. 347-349.

¹³ The text (*P. Moen* 2) was published by P. J. SIJPESTEIJN, *CE* 53 (1978), p. 111-113 (= *SB XIV* 11888, where the date is to be corrected).

¹⁴ *Syll.*³ II 585 ll. 141-144.

¹⁵ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 14890, *15805; E. OLSHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 49-50 no. 26.

¹⁶ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 14781, 14947, *15929, *14780(?), 16807(?); E. OLSHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62 no. 39, p. 77 no. 54(?), p. 84 no. 61.

¹⁷ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 14932, *15905; E. OLSHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57 no. 34.

¹⁸ See e.g. *Pros. Ptol.* VII, p. 222. For this period we only have a strategos with this name: *SB I* 5675 = *C. Ord. Ptol.* 30 (184/3); *Pros. Ptol.* I+VIII 4535.

¹⁹ And not as a simple ship captain or a hirer. We must accept, then, that the captain's name has disappeared in the text (quite acceptable in view of its mutilated condition) and that, despite the existing objections (see my paper cited in n. 1), Neon was actually

in the select though ever-expanding company of high-society shipowners and thus on the same level as the other prominent proprietors of the archive: Nikanor²⁰, Protarchos²¹, and ... one Ptolemaios «of the First Friends»²², the owner, it seems, of a whole fleet (στόλος)²³ of river boats.

In 187 τῶν πρώτων φίλων was the highest court title in Egypt proper, to our knowledge attained only by two or — probably — three people. First of all there is Komanos, who seems to have received the title as epistrategos of the chora²⁴, an office he was presumably the first to hold²⁵. Secondly, there is the just-mentioned Ptolemaios of the Bodleian Archive; although his function²⁶ unfortunately remains unknown²⁷, he must have been one of the leading figures of his time. Finally, we know of another Ptolemaios, son of Eumenes, an *archikynegos* at Court²⁸, who may have borne the title before 186 and probably mentioned as owner somewhere in ll. 1 or 2 of the recto. More serious is the abbreviation μ (actually written †) on the verso. But, as W. Clarysse pointed out to me, the interpretation is doubtful and it could also be read as π(), ιτ(), or even πρ().

²⁰ *Pros. Ptol.* V 14108; T. REEKMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, *CE* 27 (1952), p. 171-172.

²¹ *Pros. Ptol.* V 14136; T. REEKMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, *art. cit.*, p. 181.

²² *Pros. Ptol.* V 14138; T. REEKMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, *art. cit.*, p. 167-169; L. MOOREN, *Aulic Titulature*, p. 178 no. 0306, p. 227 no. 00134; ID., *Hiérarchie*, p. 74, n. 1.

²³ *SB* VI 9367 no. 2 ll. 2 and 13. W. Clarysse, whom I consulted on the problem, prefers to see in στόλος a personal name: «the boat of Stolos, the son of Ptolemaios, of the First Friends» (the mention [ἀκω(ρ)] στόλου on the verso would make little sense without the owner's name and there is plenty of room for [τοῦ] between στό[λου] and Πτολεμαίου in l. 2 of this fragmented document). But Stolos is a very rare name in Graeco-Roman Egypt (only one reference in Foraboschi: a Στόλος Πτολεμαίου [!] from Edfu, 2nd/1st cent. B.C. [*BGU* VI 1491 l. 4], but without any connection with our text; cf. H. HAUBEN, *Was Stolos a Cyrenaean?*, *ZPE* 25, 1977, p. 221-226, esp. p. 225 n. 5) and the mention of a shipowner's patronymic is rather unusual (as a distinguishing mark in *P. Petrie* III 107: *Pros. Ptol.* V 14158-59-60; only two more instances in *Pros. Ptol.* V: 14079 and 14082; add now *SB* XVI 12394, *P. Köln* VI 273). Consequently, I would prefer, for the time being at least, the interpretation of Reekmans-Van 't Dack.

²⁴ Otherwise J.D. THOMAS, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* I (*Papyrologica Coloniensis*, 6), Opladen 1975, p. 112.

²⁵ L. MOOREN, *Aulic Titulature*, p. 82-83 no. 042Ba, cf. p. 226 no. 00124; ID., *Hiérarchie*, esp. p. 74.

²⁶ If he had a specific office at all: cf. L. MOOREN, *Hiérarchie*, p. 177: «La supposition que seuls des 'fonctionnaires' étaient honorés de titres auliques impliquerait une interprétation trop étroite du phénomène de la titulature de cour»; «nous pouvons imaginer que le roi emploie des titres auliques pour marquer sa bienveillance à des gens en dehors du cadre des fonctionnaires ...».

²⁷ Cf. L. MOOREN, *Hiérarchie*, p. 74 n. 1.

²⁸ L. MOOREN, *Aulic Titulature*, p. 175 no. 0290, p. 227 no. 00127; see now ID., *Ptolemaic Families*, in *Proceedings XVI Int. Congr. Papyrology* (*Am. Stud. Pap.*, 23), Chico 1981, p. 289-301, esp. p. 295-298.

about 187, as Bingen²⁹ has shown. Mooren thinks there is reason to identify the First Friend of the Bodleian Archive with the son of Eumenes³⁰. He may be right, but in view of the foregoing an identification of the «Bodleian» Ptolemaios with Komanos' remaining brother — proxenos of Delphi in 188/7; sent in 162/1 by Ptolemy VIII with Komanos and Cn. Cornelius Merula on a successful mission to Rome³¹ — looks equally, if not more, plausible.

So in the end two, if not all three, of Komanos' brothers are shown to have been shipowners who put their barges at the state's disposal³². One or two of them appear in the Bodleian Archive, contributing to the sustenance of the loyal troops stationed at Egypt's southern frontier.

Practically all the barges mentioned in the archive, including those of Komanos' assumed brothers, are designated with the abbreviation ἀκωρ() or ἄκωρ(). There has been some speculation on this abbreviation³³, but Reekmans and Van 't Dack felt «that it may have something to do with the Hermopolite town Akoris (in Roman times also called Achoris)», just as e.g. the κασιωτικόν was named after Kasion³⁴. They have since been proved to be right by a papyrus of A.D. 282-284, published in 1976 and brought to my attention by W. Clarysse, which speaks of three πλοῖα ἀκωριτικά³⁵, thus providing the key to the abbreviation in the archive. Such a specific Akoris type is not all that surprising, for in a recent publication E. Bernand has stressed the naval importance of the town, which possessed an outstanding port and was a major junction of Nile traffic, and probably harboured, at least in Roman times, a river-police station³⁶. Small

²⁹ J. BINGEN, *CE* 54 (1979), p. 305-306.

³⁰ *Ptolemaic Families*, p. 299 n. 67.

³¹ See above, n. 16; L. MOOREN, *Aulic Titulature*, p. 84 no. 042D a.

³² It is worth mentioning that precisely in the same period a certain Polykrates (*Pros. Ptol.* V 14134) is twice attested as owner of a river boat transporting state grain to Alexandria: from Ptolemais Hormou in Jan./Febr. 187, and from Kerke on Dec. 8, 185 B.C. W. Clarysse rightly assumes (*Enchoria* 6, 1976, p. 2 n. 9, although there is no proof of a 'flotilla') that we are dealing with the famous Polykrates of Argos, son of Mnasiadas, who was Epiphanes' 'prime minister' in the latter part of his reign and who played a decisive rôle in the crushing of the rebels in Lower Egypt (*Pros. Ptol.* II 2172, *4370; VI 15065, *17226; cf. L. MOOREN, *Ptolemaic Families*, p. 292-294).

³³ See my forthcoming paper cited in n. 1 with its n. 10.

³⁴ *CE* 27 (1952), p. 167; for the *kasiotikon*, see now Maarit KAIMIO, in *P. Rainer Cent.*, p. 312.

³⁵ P.J. SUIJESTEIJN - K.A. WORP, *ZPE* 20 (1976), p. 159-160 = *SB XIV* 11549 l. 8.

³⁶ E. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 103)*, Le Caire 1988, p. XXIII, 23-24, 33-34.

wonder, then, that it was precisely there that Komanos established his headquarters. Moreover, it cannot be merely accidental that we find so many *akoritika* in the Bodleian Archive: it may be safely assumed that all these boats actually came from that town and that they were put into service by order of the epistrategos. We do not know whether the boats were purchased from the local population or whether they were newly built as part of some large-scale operation. Whatever the case, the burden was not imposed on the local populace (which was already sorely tried and whose loyalty was precious) nor on the crown (which was financially exhausted). It was borne by the highest officials³⁷, who, for that matter, followed in the footsteps of their third-century predecessors. Since Komanos was leading the operations in question, the example was probably set by his own family³⁸.

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³⁷ Comparable efforts were made by Alexander's officers who assumed the *trierarchia* when the Indus fleet was built: cf. H. HAUBEN, *AncSoc* 7 (1976), p. 91.

³⁸ With thanks to P. Van Dessel for reading through my English text.

LES OPÉRATIONS EN NATURE DES BANQUES EN ÉGYPTE GRÉCO-ROMAINE

Il est bien connu que l'État égyptien, tant sous les Ptolémées que sous les empereurs, disposait de deux institutions pour faire les encaissements et les paiements concernant les fonds publics: les banques publiques pour toutes les opérations en argent et les greniers publics pour toutes les opérations en nature, que ce soit du blé, de l'huile ou du vin.

Ce qui est beaucoup moins connu est le fait que les banques ont également fait des opérations en nature, ce qui est attesté par une douzaine de textes grecs ou démotiques, couvrant une période allant du III^e siècle avant J.-C. jusqu'au II^e siècle après J.-C. Ce phénomène anormal se constate donc tant à l'époque ptolémaïque qu'à l'époque romaine et concerne les banques publiques et les banques privées.

À titre d'introduction, nous voulons ici rappeler un fait que nous avons déjà signalé dans des articles antérieurs, notamment l'activité commerciale de certaines banques ptolémaïques. Une activité commerciale qui découle directement des opérations bancaires des trapézites est l'achat et la vente de pièces d'argenterie, puisque les prêts bancaires étaient la plupart du temps garantis par de la vaisselle précieuse¹. Les gages non dégagés à l'échéance du prêt étaient vendus par le trapézite, mais celui-ci achetait aussi des pièces². Cette pratique est attestée également en dehors de l'Égypte³. Les banques faisaient aussi le commerce de papyrus⁴ et leurs clients pouvaient même les charger d'opérations commerciales⁵.

¹ Voir R. BOGAERT, *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques*, Leiden 1968, p. 354; pour l'Égypte, voir R. BOGAERT, *P. Cairo Zen. III 59327 et le taux des intérêts bancaires à Alexandrie en 250/249 avant J.-C.*, dans *Miscellanea papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig*, Barcelone 1987, p. 79-88.

² Voir *PSI IV* 326 de 257. Sur ce texte, voir R. BOGAERT, *Banques et banquiers dans l'Arsinoïte à l'époque ptolémaïque*, II. *Les banques dans les villages du nome*, *ZPE* 69 (1987), p. 107-108.

³ R. BOGAERT, *Banques et banquiers*, p. 319-320.

⁴ La banque de Pasis fournit 10 rouleaux de papyrus à Zénon, l'intendant de la dôréa d'Apollônios (*PSI V* 519 de 250 avant J.-C.); cf. aussi le fragment *P. Cairo Zen. III 59505* concernant un envoi à Zénon de 50 rouleaux de papyrus par le banquier Python; voir sur ces textes R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 68 (1987), p. 45. *P. Hamb.* II 176 et 177 de 241 avant J.-C. concernent des commandes de respectivement 15 et 10 rouleaux de papyrus au banquier Nikanor d'Oxyrhynchos.

⁵ Le dioécète Apollônios avait chargé le banquier Prométhion de Mendès d'acheter

L'exemple suivant montre comment un banquier, en faisant une opération purement bancaire, pouvait être amené à faire une opération en nature. Un certain Sôsius avait reçu l'ordre de Zénon de vendre du vin et d'acheter avec le produit de la vente 5 métrètes de miel, qui coûtaient alors 37 drachmes au métrète. N'ayant pas réussi à vendre assez de vin pour payer le miel, Sôsius a dû emprunter 100 drachmes à la banque d'Athénaïos, une succursale de la banque royale de Crocodiopolis, mais pour obtenir ce prêt, il a dû mettre une partie du vin non vendu en gage à la banque⁶. Ainsi ce banquier avait donc en dépôt une quantité de vin, qu'il pouvait vendre, si à l'échéance du prêt, la somme n'avait pas été remboursée.

Venons-en maintenant au vrai sujet de notre étude, les opérations de banque en nature sans emploi de la monnaie. *P. Cairo dém.* 31219 de 224 avant J.-C. est une lettre du marchand d'huile Pétosiris de Tebtynis, adressée à l'économe et au comogrammate concernant des livraisons d'huile, dont une partie est destinée aux συντάξεις des prêtres. Pétosiris veut livrer cette partie à la banque, donc une banque royale (*shn* 1.15)⁷.

De 170 avant J.-C. date un long papyrus démotique du British Museum (n° 10591 recto = B) provenant d'Assiout, qui concerne un procès devant les laocrites à propos d'un héritage, qui comporte entre autres 10 aroures de terres arables, qui ont été augmentées de 1 1/2 aroure de terre royale concédée par bail emphytéotique au plaignant. Le défenseur de celui-ci affirme qu'une διαγραφή prouvant cette cession existe et que le plaignant a payé les taxes et les *swtw*, c.-à-d. les livraisons, les ἐκφόρια ou fermages, en blé à la banque royale (*shn Pr-3*)⁸.

300 couronnes de grenadiers sauvages, de les donner à Hérakleidès, l'agent de Zénon, et d'en déduire le prix du compte de ce dernier, mais le banquier n'a pas été en mesure d'exécuter cet ordre (*PSI* IV 333 de 256 avant J.-C.); voir sur ce texte R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 68 (1987), p. 46.

⁶ *PSI* V 512 de 253. Voir sur ce texte R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 68 (1987), p. 42.

⁷ W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler II. Die demotischen Papyrus (Cat. gén. Mus. Caire)*, Strasbourg 1908, p. 308. La syntaxis est la subvention en nature et en argent que le roi alloue aux prêtres qui n'ont pas d'autres revenus; voir W. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel I*, Leipzig-Berlin 1905, p. 366-384. Pour la syntaxis d'huile, voir U. WILCKEN, *UPZ* I p. 178-180.

⁸ H. THOMPSON, *A Family Archive from Siut*, Oxford 1934, B VI 13-14, p. 24. La διαγραφή est le document bancaire qui autorise le banquier à encaisser la somme due pour le bail emphytéotique à la suite d'une adjudication et comporte la translation de la propriété à l'emphytéote. Voir Fr. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten*, Strasbourg 1910 (Hildesheim-New York 1971), p. 239-244. Le mot *swtw*, livraisons, indique ici des livraisons de blé: voir H. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, p. 24 n. 112 et le glossaire p. 122 n° 266.

Le même papyrus démotique 10591 verso (= V^o) de la même année 170 contient une pétition des prêtres d'Isis de Syène au stratège Νουμήνης⁹ lui demandant de leur faire remettre les actes de propriété concernant un vignoble appartenant au temple, actes qui avaient été consignés à un autre temple pour la durée du procès dont le vignoble était l'objet et que les prêtres avaient gagné. Ils demandent en outre que le vin produit par ce vignoble pendant l'année en cours soit consigné aux banques jusqu'à ce qu'une décision le concernant soit prise¹⁰. H. Thompson pense que dans ce texte et dans le précédent le mot *shn*, banque, désigne le grenier public, parce que, selon lui, les banques n'acceptaient pas des paiements en nature¹¹. Une douzaine de textes, inconnus de H. Thompson, contredisent cette opinion.

Le texte suivant concerne une opération en argent, mais il contient une expression énigmatique, *shn n sgn*, banque de l'huile, et c'est pour cela que nous le citons. *P.Ryl.dém.* III 31 est une note de provenance inconnue et portant la date de 119/118, qui a été adressée par un prêtre de Hathor à un autre Égyptien pour lui annoncer qu'une partie du prêt de blé, qu'il avait accordé à Pélaïas le jeune, fils de Phib, a été remboursée en argent par un paiement de 200 talents. Comme l'Égyptien avait donné sa maison en gage pour la totalité du prêt, le prêtre de Hathor lui demande de dégager sa maison en payant le solde dû par Pélaïas à la banque de l'huile, *shn n sgn*¹². Cette expression est unique et n'est pas expliquée dans le texte. Le mot *sgn* désigne des huiles de toilette parfumées et W. Erichsen a pensé qu'il pouvait y avoir un rapport avec les *μυροπῶλαι*¹³. Est-ce que l'Égyptien était un *μυρο-*

Le verbe *swt*, 'délivrer', rest employé généralement pour des livraisons de blé: voir G. MATTHA, *Demotic Ostraca*, Le Caire 1945, p.215 s.v. *swt*: «to deliver corn»; mais le verbe peut aussi servir à indiquer des livraisons de vins; voir O. MATTHA 112,4 et M.A.A. Nur El-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Leiden 1974, n° 320,8.

⁹ Sur le stratège Νουμήνης, voir *Pros. Ptol.* I 196 et add.

¹⁰ H. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, V^o II 8-12 p. 51.

¹¹ H. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, p. 51 n. 27 et p. 125, glossaire n° 285, mais W. Erichsen n'a pas retenu la signification de grenier pour le mot *shn*; voir *Demotisches Glossar*, Copenhague 1954, p. 456.

¹² F.L. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester III*, Manchester 1909, p. 159; traduction corrigée dans K. SETHE - J. PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Abh. der Phil.-hist. Klasse der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 32), Leipzig 1920, p. 312.

¹³ W. ERICHSEN, *Demotische Lesestücke II. Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig 1939-1940, p. 139 (glossaire).

πώλης qui pouvait payer son dû en nature, en huiles? Nous ne le savons évidemment pas. En tout cas, il y avait des banques qui faisaient des opérations en huile, comme nous l'avons constaté déjà ci-dessus et comme nous l'indiquerons encore ci-après¹⁴.

Notre premier texte grec date du II^e siècle avant J.-C. et est de provenance inconnue. BGU VI 1224 est un rapport couvrant 5 années, de la 5^e à la 9^e d'un règne, concernant des terres arables, 67 aroures à la 5^e année, 80 aroures à la 6^e et 100 aroures à partir de la 7^e année, et de leurs revenus, un peu plus d'une artabe à l'aroure. Le texte ne dit pas si ces revenus sont un loyer, des taxes ou le remboursement d'avances aux semailles. La dernière possibilité paraît la plus vraisemblable, car, pour la 10^e année, le texte indique les quantités de semences dues par l'administration comme avances aux γεωργοί βασιλικοί pour les 100 aroures¹⁵. Les remboursements de la 5^e, 6^e et 7^e année sont désignés ainsi :

ll. 18-19: (ἔτους) ε (ἄρ.) ζζ εἰς πυρῶν οθγ' ὧν πυρίνου (scil. σπόρου) ν καὶ ἐπὶ τράπεζα(ν) βα(σιλικῆς) (scil. γῆς) ζ (ἄρτ.) γλ;

ll. 21-22: (ἔτους) ς (ἄρ.) π εἰς πυρῶν ρββ' ὧν πυρίνου (scil. σπόρου) ς καὶ ἐπὶ τράπεζα(ν) βα(σιλικῆς) (scil. γῆς) π (ἄρτ.) δ;

l. 23: (ἔτους) ζ (ἄρ.) ρ εἰς πυρῶν πζ καὶ ἐπὶ τράπεζα(ν) κν() ρ (ἄρτ.) ε

ce qui veut dire entre autres que respectivement de 7 aroures de terre royale, 3 1/2 artabes ont été versées à la banque, de 80 aroures de terre royale, 4 artabes ont été versées à la banque et de 100 aroures de terre κν()¹⁶, 5 artabes ont été versées à la banque. Il n'y a pas moyen de traduire τράπεζα autrement que par banque dans notre texte. Ce deuxième document, mais non le dernier, qui signale des livraisons de blé provenant de terres royales à la banque désigne de toute évidence une banque royale, comme dans le premier cas.

¹⁴ Voir *supra* p. 214 et *infra* p. 219-220.

¹⁵ La 10^e année peut être celle d'Épiphanie, 196/195, celle de Philométor, 172/171, ou plus probablement celle de Sôter II, 108/107: BGU VI 1225 du II^e/I^{er} siècle est un ordre de livraison de semences de blé aux agriculteurs de la terre royale. Sur les avances aux semailles aux fermiers de la terre royale, voir M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Münch. Beiträge, 7), Munich 1925, p. 123-127; Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, p. 119-121, et surtout C. MICHURSKI, *Les Avances aux semailles et les prêts de semences dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag Dedicatae* III, *Eos* 48,3 (1957), p. 105-113, 129-132.

¹⁶ Le terme κν() désigne selon l'éditeur probablement une catégorie de terre, mais l'abréviation n'a pas encore été expliquée. Dans les deux derniers cas, le versement concerne 1/20 d'artabe par aroure.

(4) καὶ Ἀμμόνιος ζ τρίτον
τέταρτον, (γίνονται) ζγ' δ'. Κεφα(λος) τρα(πεζίτης)
ζ γ' δ' 17

Ce texte est extraordinaire pour trois raisons et nous avons été étonné de constater qu'aucun des savants qui aient écrit un compte rendu de *P.Vars.*, ni U. Wilcken, ni W. Schubart, ni P. Collart, ni M. Hombert, n'ait fait une remarque sur cet ostracon. K.F.W. Schmidt dit même expressément des trois ostraca de Varsovie: «3 Quittungen ohne besondere Eigentümlichkeiten»¹⁹.

Voici les «Eigentümlichkeiten» du texte. Ce document signale une taxe annuelle δεκάτη, payable en nature, qui n'est pas attestée ailleurs. Au temps de Philadelphie, il y avait une δεκάτη, dont nous ne savons rien de précis²⁰; la δεκάτη ἐγκυκλίου n'est pas annuelle et est payable en argent; la δεκάτη de τὸ ἀπόμωρα est payable en vin ou en argent²¹; à l'époque romaine est attestée une δεκάτη, dont la nature est également inconnue²². Le mot θέμα indique que notre taxe a été versée à un compte bloqué²³. Les chiffres ζ γ' δ' sans autre spécification indiquent

¹⁸ Voir par exemple *P. Stras.* II 82,2 (115^a); *P. Lond.* III 882 p. 14 = *Chrest. Mitt.* 154,21 (101^a).

²⁰ *P. Rev.* 80,2; Cl. PRÉAUX, *Économie royale*, p. 302-303.

²¹ S. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938 [New York 1969], p. 53-54.

²² S. L. WALLACE, *op. cit.*, p. 450 n. 91.

²³ Voir P. W. PESTMAN, *P.L. Bat.* XIX, p. 217-218.

des artabes, mais dans notre texte la désignation des céréales ou des fruits oléagineux, qui ont été mesurés, manque. Probablement le sigle pour $\pi\rho\upsilon\omicron$ a été oublié. La combinaison γ' δ' est également rare, car dans les documents on trouve régulièrement, selon U. Wilcken, deux séries de fractions d'artabe $1/2$, $1/4$, $1/8$ etc. ou $1/3$, $1/6$, $1/12$ etc.²⁴, mais nous avons trouvé des exceptions à cette règle de Wilcken: $1/2$, $1/3$ etc.²⁵, $1/2$, $1/12$ ²⁶, $1/2$, $1/4$, $1/24$ ²⁷, auxquelles il faut ajouter notre texte.

Nous avons donc ici un exemple incontestable d'un paiement de taxe en nature à la banque royale de Thèbes, dont Képhalos a été le directeur de 116 à 84, l'année après la destruction de Thèbes par Sôter II²⁸. Il fut le dernier banquier de la Thèbes ptolémaïque.

Notre dernier texte démotique est un compte de provenance inconnue de livraisons en nature à des banques privées, celle de *Ns-Min* ou *Zminis* en grec, celle de *3Arl* et celle de *Kni(?)*²⁹. Il s'agit probablement de livraisons de blé comme celles que nous avons déjà signalées en rapport avec la banque royale³⁰. Le texte du verso de ce papyrus mentionne la 32^e année d'Auguste. Notre compte est donc antérieur à cette date. Selon l'éditeur W. Spiegelberg, il est impossible de dire de combien d'années le recto est antérieur au verso, mais il croit néanmoins que le recto appartient également au règne d'Auguste, parce que, dit-il, à l'époque ptolémaïque, il n'y avait pas de banques privées en Égypte. Nous avons montré ailleurs que les banques privées y existaient déjà depuis le II^e siècle avant J.-C.³¹, mais nous croyons pourtant qu'il serait imprudent d'accepter un trop grand nombre d'années entre l'écriture du recto et celle du verso. Une date appartenant au règne d'Auguste antérieure à la 32^e année (2/3 après J.-C.), donc dans les dernières décennies du I^{er} siècle avant J.-C., nous paraît la plus pro-

²⁴ U. WILCKEN, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*, Leipzig-Berlin 1899 [Amsterdam 1970] I, p. 749.

²⁵ *O. Stras.* 300, 314, 317; *O. Tait* I 200.

²⁶ *O. Tait* I 207; *WO* 708, 721.

²⁷ *O. Tait* I 175.

²⁸ Sur Képhalos, voir *Pros. Ptol.* I 1241 et add., et sur la destruction de Thèbes voir E. BEVAN, *The House of Ptolemy. A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, Londres 1927 [Chicago 1968], p. 335-337, 370-371; Pausanias I 9,3.

²⁹ *P. Stras. dém.* 3b, col. II; voir W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyri der Strasburger Bibliothek*, Strasbourg 1902, p. 40 et pl. XII.

³⁰ Voir *supra* p. 214 et n. 8.

³¹ Voir R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 68 (1987), p. 73-74, et *ZPE* 69 (1987), p. 124, 128, 133-136 et 141.

bable, quoique l'on ne puisse exclure les dernières années de l'époque ptolémaïque. Les trois banquiers ont été insérés dans *Pros. Ptol.* VIII dans la liste des trapézites sous les n^{os} 1163a (*3Arl*); 1212a (Zminis) et 1242a (*Kni*[?]), mais également dans la liste des sitologues sous les numéros 1342a, 1364a et 1384a. Nous croyons qu'il faut éliminer ces trois derniers numéros, puisque plusieurs textes prouvent indubitablement que les banquiers ont dans certains cas pratiqué des opérations en nature.

Une διαγραφή indépendante établie en 131 après J.-C. par la banque de Δίδυμος Πτολεμαίου, située dans la rue du Gymnase à Arsinoé, atteste un prêt de 29 2/3 artabes de froment à rembourser en deux fois et dans les deux mois. Si le débiteur ne rembourse pas le froment, il en paiera le prix le plus élevé du marché du moment³².

Deux autres prêts de froment, qui ont fait l'objet d'une diagraphé bancaire, sont mentionnés dans une liste de diagraphai provenant du Fayoum et datant de 140 après J.-C.³³.

Il nous reste à parler de trois autres textes datant du règne d'Antonin le Pieux et qui ont causé beaucoup de difficultés aux commentateurs. Fr. Preisigke les a étudiés ensemble dans un paragraphe de son *Girowesen* intitulé «Schwierige Urkunden»³⁴.

Le plus ancien est *P.Fay.* 96 du 25 novembre 143³⁵ provenant de Théadelphie. Il s'agit d'une diagraphé indépendante de la banque de Sarapion, probablement d'Arsinoé³⁶, qui constitue une quittance pour le loyer d'une huilerie pour le 6^e année, qui vient de se terminer, notamment 5 métrètes d'huile, dont 2 1/2 métrètes d'huile d'olive et 2 1/2 métrètes d'huile de raifort. Un reçu identique, formulé en dia-

³² *P. Mich.* IX 572, provenant de Karanis. Sur la banque de Didymos, voir A. CALDERINI, *Censimento topografico delle banche dell'Egitto greco-romano, Aegyptus* 18 (1938), p. 253.

³³ *P. Ross. Georg.* II 18, 120-124 et 295-298; le premier contrat mentionne un contrat précédent: [χωρίς ἄλλων ὃν ἔσχεν παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ διαγραφ(αφήν) τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) ἑκατον ἐξήκοντα καὶ πυροῦ [ἀ]ρταβῶν--] (l. 123-124). On constate donc dans un même paiement bancaire un paiement en argent et en blé.

³⁴ Fr. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen*, p. 222-226.

³⁵ Pour la date, voir *BL* VI p. 37.

³⁶ Le lieu où la banque était établie est déchiffré dans le texte περουιτ[...].[...].[...], que les éditeurs proposent de lire Πτερουῖτος [Οἰ]κου et qu'ils classent dans leurs index parmi les ἄμφοδα d'Arsinoé, mais avec un point d'interrogation (p. 346). L'expression n'a pas été insérée dans le *Dizionario* de A. CALDERINI - S. DARIS, mais en 143, il y avait un banquier Σα[ρπίων] dans la métropole (voir *SB* I 5168,11; le texte mentionne la 7^e année d'Antonin le Pieux), cf. Fr. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen*, p. 34, n° 43.

graphé indépendante, est *P.Tebt.* II 395 de 150 après J.-C.³⁷. Il a été rédigé διὰ τῆς Μέλανος [τραπέ]ζης ἄντικρυς Τυχαίου, une banque bien connue d'Arsinoé³⁸. Dans ce document, le gymnasiarque désigné Pappion donne quittance à un certain Sotérichos pour 1 métrete d'huile d'olive, que celui-ci lui devait selon deux διαγραφαί antérieures, qui avaient été établies par la même banque.

Un troisième document est également un reçu, mais cette fois-ci il a la forme chirographaire et concerne la banque publique³⁹. Un certain Didymos a vendu au nom de deux femmes, dont l'une est sa fille, en tout 8 1/4 artabes au prix de 7 drachmes à l'artabe, donc en tout 57 drachmes 4 1/2 oboles. Il s'agit de πυρὸς συναγοραστικός, donc du froment acheté par l'État, ce qui implique que l'acheteur, un certain Lysimachos, est un fonctionnaire liturgique. Le σῖτος ou πυρὸς συναγοραστικός est du blé acheté par le roi pour l'approvisionnement des troupes. Les propriétaires sont astreints à une vente forcée au prix imposé par le roi. Le paiement ne se fait qu'après la livraison, soit par le militaire qui a reçu le blé, soit par un fonctionnaire liturgique, comme c'est le cas dans notre texte, et qui paie par l'intermédiaire de la banque publique⁴⁰. Ce qui nous intéresse particulièrement dans notre texte est la phrase suivante: ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τειμὴν συναγοραστικοῦ πυροῦ οὗ ἀνταναίρησαι ἐκ δημοσίας τραπέζης ὀνόματος μὲν Πτολέμας Διδύμου Κερκεσήφειος πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντε τέταρτον κ.τ.λ. Cela veut dire que le πυρὸς συναγοραστικός, acheté par l'État à Ptoléma et à l'autre propriétaire, se trouvait à la banque publique avant d'avoir été livré et payé.

Selon les éditeurs, qui pouvaient accepter difficilement qu'une banque publique s'occupât aussi d'opérations en nature, le blé se trouvait au grenier public et les femmes avaient à la banque un crédit en blé, qui leur permettait de retirer du blé du grenier. Après tous les textes que nous avons étudiés, il nous semble qu'il soit inutile de faire intervenir le grenier public pour expliquer ce papyrus. L'opération imaginée par les éditeurs n'est attestée nulle part. Fr. Preisigke, pour qui il est également

³⁷ Sur la formule de ce document, voir H. J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* II, Munich 1978, p. 98 n. 80.

³⁸ Voir A. CALDERINI, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938), p. 255 n° 25.

³⁹ *P. Tebt.* II 394 de 149.

⁴⁰ Voir sur le σῖτος συναγοραστικός, U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge*, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, p. 359-360. Il s'agit probablement de la banque publique de Tebtynis, qui, déjà à l'époque ptolémaïque, acceptait des livraisons d'huile (voir *supra* p. 214).

inimaginable que le banque s'occupe d'opérations en nature, propose de relier ἐκ δημοσίας τραπέζης, qui se trouve dans une proposition relative, à τειμήν, un élément de la phrase principale, ce qui est grammaticalement impossible. La conclusion de Preisigke est: «Die Urkunde ist offenbar fehlerhaft abgefasst»⁴¹. *P.Fay.* 96 n'est pour Fr. Preisigke même pas un document bancaire. La τράπεζα de Sarapion n'est pas une banque, mais la trésorerie d'un grand domaine, dont Sarapion était le caissier⁴². Cette signification de τράπεζα ne se rencontre qu'à l'époque byzantine⁴³. La dernière diagraphé, *P.Tebt.* II 395, n'implique pas, selon Preisigke, que l'huile ait été livrée par l'intermédiaire de la banque. Elle a plutôt été transmise de la main à la main, et la diagraphé a été établie uniquement pour rendre caduques deux diagraphai antérieures⁴⁴.

Il va de soi que les explications forcées du savant allemand ne nous satisfont pas du tout et tel était aussi l'avis de J. Partsch dans un compte rendu très long et très critique du *Girowesen*, qui dit: «Vorsichtiger wäre es, dahingestellt zu lassen, ob der Bankier nicht auch mit einem Aufrechnungs- und Ueberweisungsverkehr für Oel zu tun haben konnte»⁴⁵.

La prudence de J. Partsch n'a pas eu d'effet sur G. Hübsch⁴⁶ et P. Drewes, qui, dans un grand article sur la diagraphé bancaire, consacre aux deux diagraphai dont nous venons de parler un paragraphe intitulé «Bankdiagraphai bei Naturalleistungen einer Bank?»⁴⁷. Il suit Preisigke et dit que, dans les deux diagraphai, la banque atteste uniquement qu'elle a établi le document, ce qui n'implique pas qu'elle soit intervenue dans la livraison de l'huile. À cela nous devons répondre qu'aucune diagraphé ne dit explicitement que le paiement ait été

⁴¹ Fr. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen*, p. 224.

⁴² Fr. PREISIGKE, *op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

⁴³ Voir G. ROUILLARD, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris 1928, p. 99 et n. 5; E. R. HARDY, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York 1931 [1968], p. 94-96.

⁴⁴ Fr. PREISIGKE, *op. cit.*, p. 225-226.

⁴⁵ J. PARTSCH, dans *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen der K. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen 1910, n° 11, p. 737.

⁴⁶ G. HÜBSCH, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (*Berl. Jur. Abh.*, 20), Berlin 1968, p. 41, a la même opinion que Fr. Preisigke.

⁴⁷ P. DREWES, *Die Bankdiagraphie in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, *JJP* 18 (1974), p. 111-114.

effectué par la banque. On ne trouve jamais auprès du verbe qui exprime le paiement, ἔχειν, ἀπέχειν etc., διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπεζῆς; cela ne fait pas partie de la formule si typique de la diagraphé. Les arguments de Fr. Preisigke, de G. Hübsch et de P. Drewes ne tiennent donc pas. L. Mitteis par contre accepte la possibilité de paiements en nature par la banque⁴⁸.

Il est vrai que dans des cas très rares la banque pouvait établir une diagraphé pour un contrat qui ne comportait aucun paiement⁴⁹. G. Hübsch en a tiré la conclusion suivante: «Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen haben, die Banken sogar Rechtsgeschäfte beurkunden konnten, in denen überhaupt keine Zahlung zu erfolgen hatte, so ist nicht einzusehen, warum sie nicht auch in Ausnahmefällen Urkunden errichten durften die die Leistung oder Empfangnahme von Naturalien, die nicht durch die Bank durchzuführen war, betrafen»⁵⁰. Mais L. Mitteis avait déjà fait remarquer que dans les cas très rares de diagraphai non accompagnées d'un paiement, qu'il appelle «sinnwidrig und parasitäre Bildung», le style change immédiatement et s'apparente au style des contrats établis par les agoranomes⁵¹. Or nous n'avons constaté aucune différence de style entre les diagraphai qui concernent les paiements en argent et celles qui se rapportent à des paiements en nature. Nous avons même signalé qu'une diagraphé pouvait comporter deux paiements, un en argent et un en nature⁵².

Nous croyons que nous pouvons conclure que les banques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine ont dans certains cas fait des opérations en nature, y compris des diagraphai. Ce qui nous confirme dans notre opinion est le fait que les *argentarii*, les banquiers romains, ont fait la même chose et probablement beaucoup plus régulièrement, comme il ressort de deux textes juridiques dont le plus important est Gaius, *Institutiones* IV 66, qui dit que, dans la compensation des comptes, le banquier ne peut compenser que des choses de la même nature «veluti pecunia cum pecunia compensatur, triticum cum tritico, vinum cum vino» d'où il ressort que les *argentarii* tenaient aussi des comptes en froment et en vin⁵³. Nous savons que ces banquiers louaient des

⁴⁸ L. MITTEIS, *Grundzüge*, p. 71.

⁴⁹ H. J. WOLFF, *Das Recht* II 104.

⁵⁰ G. HÜBSCH, *Personalangaben*, p. 42.

⁵¹ L. MITTEIS, *Grundzüge*, p. 69 n. 6; voir aussi G. HÜBSCH, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵² Voir *supra* p. 219.

⁵³ Le romaniste J. Partsch fut le premier à rapprocher ce texte des diagraphai grecques comprenant un paiement en nature; voir *Gött. gelehrte Anz.*, 1910, n° 11, p. 737. Voir

compartiments et mêmes des armoires dans des entrepôts (*horrea*), où ils pouvaient garder des documents et des objets déposés⁵⁴; comme ces entrepôts servaient en premier lieu au stockage de marchandises, il est possible, bien qu'aucun texte ne le dise explicitement, que leurs avoirs en nature y fussent entreposés.

En Égypte gréco-romaine, les opérations en nature des banques semblent avoir été assez rares, 13 cas sur plus de 3000 documents. Comment expliquer ces cas? Aucun texte ne nous éclaire et nous sommes donc réduit à des hypothèses. En ce qui concerne les banques publiques, on peut imaginer qu'un grenier public, qui normalement s'occupait des opérations en nature, ait été momentanément hors service, par exemple à cause d'incendie, d'inondation ou autre catastrophe. Dans ce cas, seule la banque royale pouvait le remplacer. Les opérations en nature des banques privées datent toutes de l'époque romaine. Il est donc possible qu'il y ait eu influence romaine, puisque les *argentarii* pratiquaient ces opérations couramment⁵⁵.

Pour terminer notre étude, nous voulons citer une opération en nature qui ne concerne pas une banque, mais bien un banquier. Il s'agit d'un prêt de 6 artabes de froment, y compris 50% d'intérêts, consenti par le banquier Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος d'Hérakléopolis en 372 après J.-C.⁵⁶. Le banquier a accordé ce prêt en tant que propriétaire privé et non en sa qualité de banquier, et cela est clairement indiqué dans le texte par l'expression 1.9: διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου. Ce texte montre que quand un paiement effectué par un banquier ne provient pas des avoirs de la banque, cela est clairement indiqué dans le document. Si, comme plusieurs commentateurs l'ont proposé, les paiements en nature, signalés dans les textes bancaires que nous avons étudiés, s'étaient faits de la

aussi Théophilos, *Paraphrasis Graeca Institutionum Caesarearum* IV 6.8, qui dit que le *receptum argentarii* s'appliquait à d'autres objets que l'argent. Voir sur ces textes J. ANDREAU, *La Vie financière dans le monde romain: les métiers de manieurs d'argent*, Rome 1987, p. 553-557, 600-601, et du même auteur *Les Comptes bancaires en nature*, dans *Hommages à G. Boulvert*, Paris 1987, p. 413-422.

⁵⁴ J. ANDREAU, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

⁵⁵ J. ANDREAU, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

⁵⁶ P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn 13. P. Cair. Isidor. 11, 46-50, de 312 après J.-C., présente un cas spécial. Le texte mentionne une livraison de $297\frac{11}{12}$ artabes de froment par les sitologues de Karanis à la banque publique du nome à Arsinoé. Il s'agit ici d'une livraison en nature, ordonnée par des supérieurs, en remplacement d'un paiement dû en argent, notamment 65 talents. Le froment a été évalué à 100 deniers au *modus castrensis*, le prix fixé dans l'édit de Dioclétien.

main à la main et non par voie bancaire, on aurait dû trouver dans ces documents l'expression διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, ce qui n'est pas le cas.

Nous avons montré une nouvelle fois comment une idée préconçue, ici, la prétendue impossibilité des banques de pratiquer des opérations en nature, peut obscurcir l'interprétation des documents⁵⁷.

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⁵⁷ Voir un autre exemple dans R. BOGAERT, *Le Statut des banques en Égypte ptolémaïque*, AC 50 (1981), p. 95-99.

TACITUS AND TIBERIUS

Historians have produced differing interpretations of Tiberius Caesar, but of central importance to our understanding of the successor of Augustus is the account of Tacitus in the first six books of the *Annales*. The impression made by the Tacitean Tiberius has been profound, and most critics have been concerned with the portrait's alleged unreliability: this unreliability, it is argued, may be the deliberate result of the historian's ulterior motives in writing history, or alternatively might be the product of his inability to get at the truth.

It is purpose of the present paper to demonstrate that not only was Tacitus an honest enquirer after the truth, but also that the historian succeeded in attaining an understanding of Tiberius' predicament which has allowed him to write an account that is essentially accurate, reliable *and* penetrating. Tacitus' account of Tiberius, it will be seen, does not need to be explained away or excused; it does not derive from the historian's supposed prejudices against the principate, nor from a desire to relive his own experiences under Domitian: nor it is the product of the declamation-schools, the misleading result of the «consensus of educated opinion»¹.

Of course, it would be unrealistic to deny the role of Tacitus' own political experience in shaping his view of the early principate. I have argued elsewhere², however, that political experience and historical analysis alike led him to identify a key-problem, which he states as the conflict between *principatus* and *libertas*³; it is tolerably clear from both *Agricola* and *Historiae* I that Tacitus regarded a resolution of this conflict as having been brought closer by Nerva and Trajan, particularly by virtue of the fact that they were both senators, in some sense «chosen», and whose elevation indicated that the emperor's position related to the senatorial *cursus honorum*⁴.

It is clear from the highly significant oration which is put into the mouth of Servius Galba⁵ that the real enemy of *libertas* was the concept

¹ See R. SYME, *Tacitus* I, Oxford 1958, p. 421.

² *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 235-255.

³ *Agr.* 2-3; cf. *Hist.* I 1.

⁴ See my article *The Principate of Nerva: Some Observations on the Coin Evidence*, *Historia* 32 (1983), p. 215-226.

⁵ *Hist.* I 15-16.

of a dynastic succession, which totally destroyed the notion of a *princeps* being a first amongst equals, and which in practice left him little alternative but to rule as a *dominus*, an idea which Tiberius himself resisted — but in vain⁶. As Cassius had observed⁷, and indeed as Nero (and Seneca) demonstrated, *clementia* was a part of *dominatio*, and in no sense an amelioration of it. A dynastic succession bred monarchs⁸, and removed the opportunity of what Galba regarded as an essential ingredient of good government, *verus adfectus* between the *princeps* and the senate.

Ultimately, as Tacitus' research came to demonstrate⁹, the cause of this conflict was what most students of Roman History readily recognize it to be — namely the role of Augustus in establishing the mode of government in the first place.

Tiberius Caesar occupied a key position, as the emperor himself *and* the historian both recognized: how was he, as the first successor in a dynastic monarchy, to reconcile this simple fact with the *libertas* that must be part of *respublica restituta*? Try as he might, Tiberius could not surmount this problem; his own character and temperament were not suited to it, and what was intended as his own diplomacy, aimed at keeping the *respublica* alive, was seen by many of his contemporaries and much of posterity as a kind of malignant hypocrisy¹⁰. Tacitus' interpretation, however, was not so insensitive.

Tiberius' difficulties are demonstrated in numerous features of his reign; more important, Tacitus' account of these features shows that not only did he understand the difficulties, but also had sympathy for the emperor in his predicament. In four particular topics or episodes in the reign, we can appreciate Tacitus' sympathetic analysis of Tiberius' problems — the accession, Tiberius' relationship with the senate, Germanicus, and the operation of the *maiestas* law¹¹. All are linked in Tiberius' struggle to come to terms with the problems of government

⁶ Suet., *Tib.* 27; Dio VII 8,2.

⁷ Cic., *Fam.* XV 19.4.

⁸ As Caligula is said to have observed to Macro (*Philo*, *Leg.* 54).

⁹ *Ann.* III 24.4.

¹⁰ E.g. *Ann.* I 11.4 and I 52.3.

¹¹ I have dealt with aspects of these problems in earlier articles — see particularly *Julians, Claudians and the Accession of Tiberius*, *Latomus* 30 (1971), p. 1117-1123; *Ea Simulacra Libertatis*, *Latomus* 25 (1966), p. 265-271; *Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus*, *Historia* 17 (1968), p. 194-214; *The Trial of Marcus Scribonius Libo Drusus*, *Historia* 21 (1972), p. 88-98.

and with accepting the mantle of Augustus; his performance in all of them helped, in Tiberius' own mind, to contribute to that overwhelming sense of frustration and failure which is exhibited in the famous prelude to the letter written to the senate from Capri in A.D. 32¹².

First, the accession of Tiberius: Augustus had taken time and care to create the atmosphere which would allow him to slot himself into the constitutional machinery. Such was the uncertainty that Augustus terminated, and so gradual the process by which he insinuated himself into the constitution¹³ that he could hardly fail to take on the aura of a restorer; the circumstances were as unique as the man. Yet the very act of passing on power made the Roman people, as Galba was later to put it «*unius familiae quasi hereditas*»; The Julio-Claudian families had become the «*domus regnatricis*».

By temperament and judgement, Tiberius was foreign to *dominatio*; yet Augustus' death in A.D. 14 was a moment of truth both for Augustus' system and for Augustus' successor. It was largely for this reason that Tacitus chose to commence his *Annales*¹⁴ at this point, rather than at any point in the preceding two decades. Because of Tiberius' discomfort with the dominant role, he wished to emulate the gradual and unthrusting road to ruling; this he tried to achieve by prevaricating in the face of the consular motion before the senate¹⁵. His apparent reluctance was, however, seen as a sham, rather than as the symptom of a genuine unease over the assumption of power.

Indeed, so stubbornly and unrealistically did Tiberius pursue his reluctance that he found himself faced with embarrassment on the part of some senators, and extreme irritation on the part of others¹⁶. Further, certain facts appeared to tell against the genuine nature of the reluctance: the servility of the magistrates¹⁷, the murder — whoever had given the order — of Agrippa Postumus¹⁸, the emperor's arrogant

¹² *Ann.* VI 6.1: «*Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaque peius perdam quam perire me cotidie sentio, si sciam*».

¹³ The process is described in *Ann.* I 1-2.

¹⁴ See my article *The Starting-dates of Tacitus' Historical Works*, *CQ* 17 (1967), p. 158-163.

¹⁵ *Ann.* I 6-14; for what is undoubtedly the correct interpretation of the chronology of the accession period, see K. WELLESLEY, *The dies imperii of Tiberius*, *JRS* 57 (1967), p. 23-30.

¹⁶ Suet., *Tib.* 24.

¹⁷ *Ann.* I 7.1.

¹⁸ *Ann.* I 6.

remoteness in dealing with the senate¹⁹, and the fact that the *tribunicia potestas* had been employed to convoke the senate²⁰; indeed, one senator (Mamercus Scaurus) incurred Tiberius' anger by pointing out that this same *tribunicia potestas* could have been used to give practical effect to the reluctance²¹.

Thus, whilst his motivation may have included an element of genuine reluctance, a major part of it was to seek a demonstration that he came to power on the crest of senatorial acclamation²². The effect of the episode, however, was to enhance Tiberius' reputation for hypocrisy and malevolence. This dichotome between intention and result emerges clearly in what Tacitus relates, and the effects of it on the emperor's relationship with the senate are obvious; the senate saw the *princeps* as malevolent, whilst he viewed it — or at least certain of its members — as intent on causing him embarrassment²³.

Tiberius' aim in his dealings with the senate was to avoid overshadowing it, and to give its members and the magistrates more freedom and participatory power than they had previously enjoyed²⁴. A striking example of the difficulties caused by the inconsistency between Tiberius' intention and the senate's perception of reality is to be seen in the trial of Gaius Silius in A.D. 24²⁵. During this trial the defendant applied to have the proceedings deferred until such time as the prosecutor, Visellius Varro, should vacate his consular office; Tiberius refused, replying in the words of the old *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* that it was the consuls' job to protect the state. Tacitus observes the lack of realism demonstrated by that view, and the episode demonstrates that Tiberius had still not come to terms with that essential feature of autocracy that had been pressed upon him through Sallustius Crispus at the outset of his reign — «eam condicionem esse imperandi ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur»²⁶.

¹⁹ *Ann.* I 8.6.

²⁰ *Ann.* I 7.5.

²¹ *Ann.* I 13.4.

²² *Ann.* I 7.10: «Dabat et famae ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse».

²³ E.g. Asinius Gallus in *Ann.* I 12. See my article *Tiberius and Asinius Gallus*, *Historia* 20 (1971), p. 443-457.

²⁴ See particularly the senatorial material narrated in *Ann.* I 72-81, and my article *Ea Simulacra Libertatis*, *Latomus* 25 (1966), p. 265-271.

²⁵ *Ann.* IV 17-20; see my article *The Trial of Gaius Silius, A.D. 24*, *Latomus* 26 (1967), p. 712-716.

²⁶ *Ann.* I 6.6.

Frequently, Tacitus' accounts of Tiberius' dealings with the senate demonstrate the awkward and tentative nature of the relationship — particularly so in the group of «encounters» narrated together at the end of *Annales* I; in a number of these, Tiberius discovered, often at the cost of considerable embarrassment, not to say damage to his image, that the freedom which he wished the senate to enjoy, could often in particular instances bring about results that were inconsistent with his own wishes — for example, in the trial of Granius Marcellus and in the debate on theatrical rowdyism, in both of which he found himself at odds with the majority of senatorial opinion because of his near-obsessive attitude to the dead Augustus²⁷.

Thus, instead of merely participating in a free process of debate and decision-making, Tiberius found himself arbitrarily insisting on his own wishes, and so forcing the senate into a situation where its freedom was constrained by patronage²⁸. Tacitus is surely right in seeing that through such incidents the exercise of *libertas* was reduced to a *simulacrum*; indeed the resentment of *dominatio* was the greater on the senate's part for the feeling that the emperor was maliciously cheating them of something which he claimed he wished to be theirs as of right.

It is hardly surprising that such a situation forced a sense of impotence upon the senate, which left them progressively less capable of constructive participation, which in its turn provoked the emperor's angry frustration, as over the appointment of a proconsul in Africa to take charge of the war against Tacfarinas²⁹. «O homines ad servitutem paratos!», the emperor once remarked³⁰. Galba too observed the difficulty of providing an emperor with honest advice based upon mutual trust and respect, which is no doubt why men of the calibre of Marcus Lepidus were a comparative rarity³¹. Too often, Tiberius found himself faced with what he regarded as sycophancy on the one hand, or petty malevolence on the other. Ironically, the emperor for his part never appreciated how far this state of affairs was caused by the impossible nature of what he appeared to ask of senators, and by the fact that his own grim attitude excited not respect and trust, but fear and anxiety³².

²⁷ See my article *Tiberius and the Spirit of Augustus*, *G & R* 13 (1966), p. 207-212.

²⁸ Compare the situation that Pliny recognises in Trajan's senate (*Pan.* 66.4).

²⁹ *Ann.* III 35.1.

³⁰ *Ann.* III 65.3-4.

³¹ *Ann.* IV 20.4. See R. SYME, *Marcus Lepidus Capax Imperii*, *JRS* 45 (1955), p. 22-33.

³² *Ann.* IV 7.1.

Tacitus asserts that the greatest damage to the emperor's relationship with the senate was done by the operations under the *maiestas* law³³; this above all things emphasised the subservience of senate and senators to the *princeps*, and is shown by the historian to have been one of the few features that marred the first half of Tiberius' principate.

Tacitus, through his detailed discussion of a considerable number of cases, shows that the problems derived in the main from Tiberius' lack of honest realism, which in particular blinded him to the evil constituted by the *delatores*³⁴, and from his personal prejudices in particular cases. Whilst the effect of this may have been the appearance of tyranny, it is clear from Tacitus that the emperor did not see his behaviour as tyrannical; in fact, he valued a reputation for *moderatio* and *clementia*, qualities which, as appears from Marcus Lepidus' intervention in the trial of Clutorius Priscus, specifically related to *maiestas*, and the emperor's interventions to 'rescue' defendants in difficulty³⁵. Both 'virtues' were recorded on Tiberius' coinage.

It is clear that the emperor saw these 'virtues' as real enough; indeed, the historian did too — if rather misguided in their application. First, we can see that Tiberius' general attitude with regard to insults against himself was to ignore them judicially³⁶, though being of a sensitive nature he did not forget them. If, however, insults to Augustus were involved, his anger was immediate and unrelenting; this could produce the clear impression of arbitrary behaviour, as is to be observed in a comparison between the cases of Falanius, Rubrius and Granius Marcellus.

Secondly, despite obvious indications to the contrary, Tiberius, in line with his general senatorial policy, insisted on seeing that body as an *impartial* court of justice. Often, as in the cases of Libo Drusus, Cn. Piso,

³³ *Ann.* I 72.3: «non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat ...». Cf. IV 6.3.

³⁴ See for example *Ann.* IV 30.4, and the emperor's view, «subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amoverent». I have discussed a number of the Tiberian trials in detail; e.g. those of Libo Drusus (*Historia* 21, 1972, p. 88-98), Cn. Piso (*Historia* 17, 1968, p. 210-214, and 23, 1974, p. 238-241), Gaius Silius (*Latomus* 26, 1967, p. 712-716), Granius Marcellus (*G & R* 13, 1966, p. 207-208), Clutorius Priscus (*G & R* 16, 1969, p. 14-18).

³⁵ *Ann.* III 49-51 (particularly 50.3); see also C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, *Two 'Virtues' of Tiberius: a Numismatic Contribution to the History of his Reign*, *JRS* 28 (1938), p. 129-140.

³⁶ See, for example, the trials of Falanius and Rubrius (*Ann.* I 73), Granius Marcellus (I 74) and Appuleia Varilla (II 50). Also R. BAUMAN, *Impietas In Principem*, München 1974.

and Gaius Silius³⁷, the *princeps*' policy was to stand back, and to expect the senate to reach a fair and impartial verdict: he constantly failed to appreciate the inevitability of the senate's deferring to his known or imagined wishes³⁸. Equally, the senate might have prejudices of its own, as when one of its chief reasons for believing Piso guilty of the murder of Germanicus Caesar was its refusal to believe that he could have died a natural death³⁹.

Thirdly, as we have seen, Tiberius prided himself on his late interventions to exercise mercy — sometimes too late, as in the case of Libo Drusus. He apparently failed to see that a law, widely admitted to be flawed in its operation, and the effectiveness of whose procedures were seen to be vitiated by the relationship between *princeps* and senate, could not be made into justice by the late and arbitrary interventions of a *clemens princeps*.

In all, as Tacitus shows, this collection of problems could hardly inspire confidence and certainly could not represent justice. Since ultimately defendants depended upon the whim of the emperor, it was a reasonable anxiety to wonder what would happen if the *princeps* himself were absent, or influenced by a person more malevolent than himself or indeed himself became more prejudiced than he had previously been. The effects of all three possibilities were amply and progressively demonstrated in the events of A.D. 24-37⁴⁰. Thus Tacitus finds in Tiberius' behaviour not tyrannical intent, but a blindness which eventually produced a situation where senators in particular felt constantly the threat of impending ruin.

It has been said that Tiberius was the 'victim of Augustus'⁴¹; in no area of his principate was this truer than in the factional rivalries which centred around the Julii and the Claudii⁴², the legacy of Augustus' attempts to reconcile the Caesarian family and partisans. When Augustus died, he left as principal contenders for his position Tiberius, Germanicus and Agrippa Postumus; whilst the latter was quickly despatched, perhaps on Livia's instructions, Tiberius and Germanicus were thrown by events *and* by popular estimation into rivalry. Tiberius

³⁷ *Ann.* II 27-32; III 10-18; IV 17-20.

³⁸ For this attitude, see particularly *Ann.* I 75.1-2.

³⁹ *Ann.* III 14.4.

⁴⁰ *Ann.* IV 1.1.

⁴¹ R. SYME, *Tacitus* I (cit. n. 1), p. 424-425.

⁴² See my article in *Latomus* 30 (1971), p. 1117-1123 and 33 (1974), p. 306-313.

and Livia were seen as the representatives of the proud, optimate Claudii, whilst Germanicus and Agrippina stood as the leaders of the Julii, patrons of new men, the true political and family heirs of Augustus.

It is widely assumed that Tacitus, at the least, embroidered this rivalry in order to blacken Tiberius⁴³, that Germanicus was the historian's hero, perhaps even the symbol of his republicanism. In other words, the narration of events concerned in the relationship between Tiberius and Germanicus would in these circumstances provide one of the most obvious opportunities for the historian to advance his supposed aim of destroying Tiberius' reputation.

It has often been observed that, viewed objectively, Germanicus' performance was not outstanding. It should be noted too that, despite what is sometimes suggested, the evidence for this view comes not from alternative sources, but from Tacitus himself. The Tacitean Germanicus is not the historian's shining hero; rather he is concerned to show how this rather mediocre young man, backed by a determined and charismatic wife and supported by a reputation he had done little to merit, captured public imagination which viewed his bright and excitable character as the complete antithesis to that of the secretive and morose *princeps*. Nature, politics and events made rivals of Tiberius and Germanicus; Tacitus had nothing to do with that — beyond the recording of it.

It is evident from the outset that Tiberius was worried about Germanicus, particularly that he might use the troops at his disposal on the Rhine to stage a coup d'état; yet this was a fear which Tiberius tried to keep to himself, whilst in his outward actions attempting fairly to ensure that Germanicus was given the proper authority due to his command⁴⁴. Germanicus' handling of the mutinous legions of the Rhine army was ineffective, yet highly dramatic; Tacitus' description of his performance accords well with the personality that emerges from the papyrus recording Germanicus' speech on his arrival in Alexandria in A.D. 19⁴⁵. Germanicus' chief effort to regain control amongst his disaffected legions rested on the launching of campaigning on the eastern bank of

⁴³ See R. SYME, *Tacitus* I (cit. n. 1), p. 254 and 418, and B. WALKER, *The Annals of Tacitus*, Manchester 1952, p. 9. Also my article *Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus*, *Historia* 17 (1968), p. 194-214.

⁴⁴ *Ann.* I 7.9 and 14.4.

⁴⁵ See *P. Oxy.* XXV 2435.

the Rhine, thus effectively in Tiberius' eyes re-opening a discussion on Rome's frontier policy which Augustus' dying words were reckoned to have closed.

This not unnaturally worried the *princeps*⁴⁶, but characteristically he kept his worries to himself; however, in trying to disguise them, because he could never lie convincingly⁴⁷, he not only showed clearly that he was lying, but also caused people to speculate on the possibly sinister reasons for those lies. The German fighting of A.D. 15 and 16 ranged from the ineffective to the near-disastrous, and included the highly emotional (and possibly morale-shattering) visit to the scene of the Varus disaster⁴⁸. Tiberius disapproved of this; all the possible reasons for this disapproval adduced by Tacitus are reasonable in the light of the characters of Tiberius and Germanicus and of their relationship. On this occasion, as on others, Germanicus gave in to impulse and acted in a manner which was entirely foreign to the calculating Tiberius. We may compare with this Germanicus' unauthorised entry into Egypt, which again displayed lack of thought and aggravated the suspicions of Tiberius⁴⁹; not only this, but Tiberius was also worried by the rather forward role of Germanicus' family which must have struck him as if the family was close to treating the Rhine army as its own retainers.

Tiberius was convinced that the German adventure had to stop, though characteristically (and perhaps inevitably) he was unable to end it without further arousing the suspicions of Germanicus himself, his family and friends, and of the *populus* in general, that sinister motives lay behind his transfer from the Rhine to the East. We should, however, notice carefully — and it is particularly clear in the passage dealing with Germanicus' illness and death⁵⁰ — that the historian is not making these emotional accusations himself, but reporting what was thought *at the time*. It was important to him to recapture «contemporary atmosphere», for this more often than not was the catalyst for subsequent events.

The Eastern mission of Germanicus was a nightmare; although in the light of imperial precedent his commission was a perfectly intelligible development, it is clear from Tacitus' account that the general circumstances of the relationship between Tiberius and Germanicus and, in

⁴⁶ *Ann.* I 52.1.

⁴⁷ *Ann.* I 11.4 and IV 31.4.

⁴⁸ *Ann.* I 61.

⁴⁹ *Ann.* II 59.

⁵⁰ *Ann.* II 82.1-2.

particular, their disagreement over policy in Germany, made it an unwise appointment. Even more unwise, as events were to show, was the appointment as *legatus Augusti* in Syria of the *princeps*' friend, Cn. Calpurnius Piso⁵¹; this man and his wife between them appear to have made a travesty of Tiberius' intentions. The result consisted of misunderstandings (as over Germanicus' Egyptian visit), public arguments (as when Piso cancelled Germanicus' political arrangements), and as a consequence, when Germanicus died a general conviction that he had been killed by Piso and Plancina, probably on the instructions of Tiberius and Livia. This conclusion, however, whilst supportable through a collection of circumstantial evidence, is nowhere maintained by Tacitus to provide the proper explanation of what happened.

These events were damaging enough to Tiberius' situation, but even worse was their consequence — namely the ensuring of a bitter continuation of the Julian and Claudian feuding, and the well-nigh impossible relationship that developed between Tiberius and Agrippina; in its turn this provided the opportunity for the enhancement of Sejanus' ambitions and the *princeps*' withdrawal to Capri.

The deteriorating relationship between Tiberius and Agrippina was carefully stage-managed by Sejanus; he seized upon the activities of Agrippina's friends, such as Gaius Silius, in order to convince Tiberius that she was plotting against him, nor was she helped by her own unbridled tongue⁵². Sejanus also managed to convince Agrippina that Tiberius was trying to ruin her, and used her second son, Drusus, to undermine his brother, Nero. The essence of this situation was that Sejanus was able to utilise an already bad family relationship to come close to encompassing the ruin of both the Julii and the Claudii. Tacitus gives us no reason to believe that Tiberius himself wanted this family catastrophe, only that his role in it was prompted by suspicions of which he could not rid himself⁵³. In short, Tacitus provides us with no reason to disbelieve Tiberius' own subsequent explanation of the fall of Sejanus — namely that it was caused by the prefect's deadly hostility towards the family of Germanicus⁵⁴.

⁵¹ *Ann.* II 43.3-4 shows Piso's background and attitude; see further my article *Cn. Calpurnius Piso, Legate of Syria*, *Historia* 23 (1974), p. 229-245.

⁵² E.g. *Ann.* IV 52-53; see also my article *Tiberius and Asinius Gallus*, *Historia* 20 (1971), p. 452.

⁵³ See my article *The Fall of Sejanus: Two Problems*, *CPh* 69 (1974), p. 42-46.

⁵⁴ *Suet., Tib.* 61.1.

Of Capri, little needs to be said; Tiberius' letter, whose preface is quoted by both Tacitus and Suetonius, indicates the emperor's confused preoccupation with failure and guilt. Tacitus apparently attaches little importance to — or at least does not list — the various perverse practices of which many thought Tiberius to be guilty; the concluding sentence of the character-summary of the emperor⁵⁵ says all that is necessary. The historian is mostly concerned with Tiberius' state of mind, which he captures well by describing his absence from Rome with the active word *abscessus* (indicating a continued state of cringing withdrawal) in preference to the more passive *absentia*⁵⁶; he is concerned too with the uneven effect of this on the government, and with the fact that the senate felt *more* intimidated by the absent emperor than they had been previously when he was present. This, to Tacitus, was the real *immensa strages* of Tiberius' reign.

This examination of a number of episodes in Tiberius' reign shows the emperor's behaviour in a comprehensible — perhaps almost favourable — light. However, the real significance of this is not the fact itself as much as the fact that it comes about not as did Baldson's 'reasonable' picture of Caligula⁵⁷, through a *rationalisation* of the evidence of ancient sources, but from Tacitus himself. In this respect, we should attach greater significance to the narrative itself than to the truncated observations of the short character-summary, itself probably affected by the exigencies of the summarising process.

We can begin to appreciate what Tacitus was trying to do: as we have seen, the historian clearly saw a problem of confidence in the principate — the conflict between *principatus* and *libertas*; it is clear too from Galba's oration that he regarded personality and personal relationships as standing at the heart of the problem⁵⁸ — what Galba described as *verus adfectus*. We can also see from Tacitus' treatment that he recognised that an action was a complex thing — consisting of motives, the action itself, and the reactions to it; none of these were optional extras for the historian; it was his *duty* to his reader to convey an understanding of them all.

Tacitus was thus particularly concerned with the inter-relationships

⁵⁵ *Ann.* VI 51.

⁵⁶ See B. WALKER, *The Annals of Tacitus*, Manchester 1952, p. 62; *Ann.* VI 38.2.

⁵⁷ J. P. V. D. BALSDON, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)*, Oxford 1934.

⁵⁸ Similar views are indicated in the oration of Cerialis to the Treveri and Lingones (*Hist.* IV 74.2).

between the chief participants, because these shaped events. He was concerned too to ensure that the reader was made fully aware of an action's totality — hence his frequent inclusion of rumours and popular opinions. These were not surreptitious ways of putting over views of his own which the evidence would not naturally support; they were precisely what they seemed to be — reactions which could and did shape future events; Nero, after all, was toppled more by rumours than by armed force⁵⁹.

In the development of the principate, Tacitus recognised the peculiar difficulties of Tiberius as the first inheritor — the person, that is, who could hardly avoid giving the lie to *respublica restituta*; hence, the historian's decision not to be sidetracked into earlier events, but to begin his *Annales* at the moment of crisis both for Rome and for Tiberius Caesar. He is then concerned to show how Tiberius' aspirations conflicted with political realities, and particularly how the *princeps*' desire to be seen as both fair and loyal to his predecessor and the system pushed him into difficulties which he lacked the features of character to overcome.

The result was a *princeps* viewed widely as an exemplar of falsehood and hypocrisy; most of Tiberius' contemporaries, viewing him superficially and without *verus adfectus*, interpreted this as a malevolent characteristic; so too on frequent occasions has the judgement of posterity. It stands, however, to Tacitus' credit as a fair-minded enquirer, that whilst he could be critical of Tiberius, he did not share the error of many others; Tiberius to him was an enigma to be penetrated and understood, not a villainous tyrant fit only for superficial vilification.

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⁵⁹ *Hist.* I 98.2; see my article *A Time-table for the 'Bellum Neronis'*, *Historia* 24 (1975), p. 59-74.